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THE LEAGUE'S BUSINESS

1930 Meeting.—The National Conference on Improving Government will be held in the Statler Hotel, Cleveland, Ohio, November 10, 11 and 12. As in 1929, the Conference will be sponsored by the following organizations: National Municipal League, Governmental Research Association, National Association of Civic Secretaries, and Proportional Representation League. In addition, the Ohio Conference on City Planning will meet at the same time and place, and there is some possibility that the Ohio Municipal League and the American Legislators' Association will join with the other groups in this year's Conference.

Mayo Fesler, director of the Citizens' League of Cleveland, has taken the lead in extending the invitation from Cleveland, and all the local civic organizations will support the plans for the 1930 Conference. A strong local committee on arrangements is being organized. The committee will be headed by the Honorable John D. Marshall, mayor of Cleveland; and the mayors of suburban villages, as well as national and state organizations, will participate.

Mr. Fesler has accepted the chairmanship of the program committee. At his request a number of other individuals have agreed to serve with him on the program committee, whose personnel will be as follows:

Mayo Fesler, director, Citizens' League of Cleveland, *chairman*
John B. Blandford, Jr., director, Cincinnati Bureau of Governmental Research
George H. Hallett, Jr., executive secretary, Proportional Representation League, Philadelphia
W. P. Lovett, executive secretary, Detroit Citizens' League
H. W. Marsh, civic director, the City Club of New York
Charlotte Rumbold, secretary, Ohio Conference on City Planning
Lent D. Upson, director, Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research
Harvey Walker, Ohio State University

The appointment of this committee assures the preparation of an interesting and worth while program.

*

Welles A. Gray Withdraws from League Headquarters.—Welles A. Gray, assistant director of the Municipal Administration Service, has been offered and has accepted a position as assistant in the Finance Department of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States at Washington, D. C. Mr. Gray joined the organization in July, 1928, and thus has rounded out two years of service. His work has commended itself to the members of the League with whom he has come in contact, and his withdrawal is a definite loss to the headquarters staff.

RUSSELL FORBES, *Secretary.*

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EDITORIAL COMMENT

Death of Horace E. Deming

It is our sad duty to announce the death of Horace E. Deming, on June 11, in New York City. Mr. Deming was in his eighty-first year, and had retired from active work in 1925.

Mr. Deming was one of the founders of the National Municipal League in 1894. He served as chairman of the Executive Committee from 1902 to 1915. He was the one who introduced the resolution at the Louisville Conference in 1897 calling for the appointment of a committee of ten "to investigate and report on the feasibility of a Municipal Program." The importance of this resolution can scarcely be overestimated. Mr. Deming was made chairman of the committee which three years later reported "A Municipal Program" comprising a series of proposed constitutional amendments defining the relation of the city to the state together with a general municipal corporations' act to be adopted by municipalities upon vote of the people.

Mr. Deming belonged to that select group who determined to "do something about city government" in the early 'nineties, when our municipalities were a national disgrace. A strong and courageous type of man was needed for the task and it was such who rallied from all parts of the United States to form the National Municipal League. Among them Horace E. Deming was conspicuous. To him and them the present generation of municipal researchers, civic secretaries, progressive officials, and the public generally owe a heavy debt. Without their moral fervor, energy, and practical insight the profession of municipal administration, a lusty infant which seems destined to survive and overcome a none too favorable environment, would never have been born in this country.

*

Are There Limits to Skyscrapers?

Skyscrapers in the last few years have leaped another twenty stories nearer the sky. The Chrysler Building is 1,030 feet high as compared with the Woolworth Building's 790, and the Empire State Building now rising on the Waldorf site will be 80 stories. Hundred-story buildings are boldly talked of. These new pinnacles are the glory of New York for the moment. They stand, above lower roofs, here and there, bathed in sunlight, or like dream lanterns in winter twilight, or sometimes lost in cloud, as attractive to the office workers who work in them as to the beholders

who glance up from the sidewalks! It would be a forlorn task to assail them as they are now! The long dark fingers of their shadows move across countless lower windows, lights burn longer in rooms that are many blocks away, but the shadow fingers move on as the sun's position changes, and few complain!

When the zoning laws were drawn and builders were permitted to go as high as they pleased on 25 per cent of the lot, it was not expected that towers would really go to the moon! And so the skyscraper in these recent years has been challenged as a dubious and meretricious newcomer. Lowering of the height limitation and of the cubic content has been proposed by the City Club of New York and various other parties whose business it is to worry about posterity, and a debate has gone on among architects and city planners which the little volume, entitled *The Skyscraper: A Study of Its Economic Height*,[1] is designed to cramp by that kind of modern scientific fact-finding which so interferes with free rhetoric!

This study authoritatively computes the net return to the owner on a building conforming to the New York zoning ordinance occupying such a block as those just south of Grand Central Station, 405 x 200 feet and costing $200 a square foot. It finds the point of greatest return to be 63 stories. At 75 stories and at 50 stories or less, the returns are less than at 63. A building of this height would house 16,000 office workers.

The book goes on to discuss the social implications of such a structure and canvasses a variety of arguments that have been offered, always finding a verdict in favor of the skyscraper. Some of the arguing sets up men of straw—no one, I think, seriously argues for a city of five-story buildings or denies that the modern business district should be built in three dimensions for convenience and efficiency. Such far-fetched comparisons do not meet the more modest actual contentions that are being made and which aim not to abolish skyscrapers but to bring them under tighter control than is provided in the present zoning ordinance which was adopted in 1916.

Questions that come to mind as this 63-story ideal money-maker is studied are as follows:—Is a cubage that accommodates 16,000 people on a 405 x 200-foot plot too great in relation to the current notion of sidewalk space? Too great in relation to the current provision of 60-foot streets and 100-foot avenues? Or must such monsters be required to draw back their skirts and contribute some of their plottage to solve the congestion they help to create in due proportion to their size?

Standing aloft above 10- and 20-story buildings, this great mass seems relatively harmless as a devourer of other people's light; but what will be the situation when the eight blocks across the street and across the corners are likewise built up? Will a group of such buildings so obscure each other's light and so darken the narrow canyons below that lights must burn all day in the first ten or fifteen stories the year round and the streets become abysms of gloom? Can we tolerate a scheme that looks forward to long streets walled in with 63-story palisades? It would take studies of present streets where 15-story apartments are massed and calculation of the shadow effect of towers beyond those cornices to estimate the results in terms of gloom. There are groups of blocks of solidly built buildings that rise much less than 63 stories here and there about

[1] *The Skyscraper: A Study of Its Economic Height.* By W. C. Clark and J. L. Kingston. New York: American Institute of Steel Construction, 1930. 164 pp.

the town—side streets near Riverside Drive and Park Avenue—that are already cheerless, sunless, and bleak!

How about drawing 16,000 people to one half-block like this—yes, but wait a minute—and another 64,000 to similar buildings across the four streets and 64,000 more to the buildings diagonally across the four corners? Does it sound tolerable? And does it sound like relief when the authors in a moment of passing concern about access speak of sub-sidewalk connections into that grimy bottleneck of writhing humanity known as the Grand Central subway station?

The book is silent on the whole question of whether their 63-story economic triumph can be tolerated as a unit cheek by jowl with other units of the same sort. Let us require that such a building acquire easements to the borrowed light of all its neighbors and thus keep the next 63-story bulk a full block away and the economy will disappear!

The authors speak with high reverence for the zoning ordinance of New York, even though it has reduced the permissible cubage of their building by 48 per cent (in the case of a 75-story building). I still venture, in spite of them, to believe that, in this new era of heights above 50 stories, we glimpse a new series of menaces that were not recognized before 1916 and that must be studied now. The towers, it seems, may not be rare and occasional; they may very probably be massed. To keep the cubage of new buildings to a lower maximum, to keep the towers from showing over the cornice of the fifteenth story when you stand at the opposite curb would check the over-exploitation of salient corners and hold down land values a bit on certain conspicuous lots. But nearby plots would benefit by the forcing of population toward the low-built areas a block or two away and the next generation would have less necessity for squirming through jammed routes to sunless pigeonholes in darkened walls.

R. S. C.

*

Reënforcements in the Battle against the Slums

In May there was organized the Housing Association of the City of New York under the distinguished presidency of Alfred E. Smith.

One of its purposes is to function, as do the Philadelphia and Cincinnati associations, as a leader in raising housing standards and in the rigid enforcement of housing laws.

Another purpose is to facilitate the financing and construction of low-cost housing. A housing foundation will be formed to act as a financial organization with power to lend and invest funds in housing projects and to build and manage houses. A fuller account of the newly formed association will be found in the Notes and Events department of this issue.

Without the organized backing of public-spirited citizens it appears evident that slum clearance will not be accomplished by private initiative operating under the Housing Law of 1926. In the words of Alfred E. Smith, "a very inconsiderable amount of new housing" has been built since the state housing law was passed. To date but four projects have been completed by limited dividend companies established under this law. None of them has involved the destruction of slum properties, and thus they cannot be said to be slum clearance although undoubtedly furnishing relief to some slum dwellers.

A fifth project to be completed this fall does invade the slum regions of the lower east side of Manhattan. It is on the old site of the Hoe Printing

Press Company. The limited dividend corporation which has it in charge is sponsored by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. It will be a coöperative building requiring initial payments by tenant-stockholders of $150 to $200 per room and average monthly rentals of $12.50 per room. The low initial payment is made possible only by the continued financial support of Lieutenant Governor Lehman and Aaron Rabinowitz, who purchased the land originally and turned it over at cost to the Amalgamated. But it is clear that at a rental of $12.50 per room and under initial payments of $350 to $600, the new housing is beyond the reach of thousands of unskilled wage earners who can afford to pay no more than seven or eight dollars per room per month and who can never save enough to make an initial payment.

Obviously the problem of the unskilled, poorly paid worker still remains. City planning with teeth in it, together with a leveling up of the earnings of the lowest wage groups, will be necessary to cure the present spread between wages and costs. But before this can be accomplished we may have to go over to heavier subsidies and direct state participation in housing, when the public realizes more fully the iniquities and dangers of the slums.

European ventures in municipal housing are sometimes condemned because they do not pay their way. This is a fact, and England and other countries of Europe realize that slum clearance means a charge on the public funds. The housing bill now before Parliament illustrates how far England has gone in accepting housing as a governmental responsibility. This measure simplifies the procedure by which local authorities may prescribe areas for slum clearance or improvement, and empowers them to recondition or demolish isolated houses outside improved areas. It also increases the national subsidy to housing. The capital value of the new subsidy, according to the *Local Government News*, will be about $1,000 per person displaced and rehoused in the new construction. The national subsidy cannot exceed half the loss suffered by the local authority in supplying the new houses.

When it has been determined that a certain area should be cleared and rebuilt, the local authority may order either the private owner to clear the land himself or may purchase or condemn the land and demolish the buildings themselves. Nothing is paid for the buildings condemned, on the theory that when a house is condemned it is worth nothing, just as no compensation would be paid for rotten meat condemned in the hands of butchers exposing it for sale. Reimbursement is, of course, made for the land.

Since the war England has tried many experiments in her dealings with the housing problem. The feeling of the present government is that in the stress to provide new housing to end the national shortage too little attention has been given to the abolition of slum areas, many of which remain as a social and health menace to the community. The purpose of the measure now about to pass Parliament is to direct new effort to the ending of these blights.

*

Arthur C. Comey, city planner and review editor for the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, has been appointed assistant professor of city planning in the Harvard School of City Planning. Thomas Adams has been appointed assistant professor in the same school.

HEADLINES

Page Marco Polo! A city, streets of which are paved with gold, has been located at last. City Engineer William H. Gillen reports that there has been three cents worth of gold in each cubic yard of sand used to pave Milwaukee streets. Altogether, he estimates that there is about $48,500 worth of gold under foot in the Wisconsin metropolis.

* * *

Petitions are being circulated to recall Mayor Charles Bowles of Detroit. Approximately 80,500 signatures are required to hold a recall election in Detroit. The movement against Bowles followed his summary dismissal of Street Railway Commissioner Frank Couzens and Police Commissioner Harold H. Emmons.

* * *

Cuyahoga County, Ohio, is asked to support a $25,000,000 bond issue to build downtown subways which will clear the street cars off the surface and help solve the traffic problem. This would also spread the cost of the project over the entire county instead of making taxpayers in the City of Cleveland pay for the whole cost of construction.

* * *

An intensive drive has been launched by the Democratic City Committee of Richmond, Virginia, as twenty-six Democratic candidates for seats in the city council are opposed by four Republicans for the first time in many years.

* * *

A movement is under way for the merger of two villages, Tarrytown and North Tarrytown, New York, into a city on the ground that a substantial saving in taxes can be effected by the combination. The manager plan is being considered.

* * *

Following the summary dismissal of Colonel J. Franklin Bell as city manager of Covington, Kentucky, the council has appointed O. A. Kratz, manager of Dubuque, Iowa, to succeed him.

* * *

A survey of salaries in the city service of San Francisco made by the San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research reveals that payrolls are running approximately $800,000 in excess of local prevailing rates.

* * *

Following the making of a $900,000 profit by the municipal light plant of Cleveland, the council reduced power rates, bringing city plant rates another step below those of the Cleveland Electric Illuminating Company.

* * *

Every successful candidate for the office of city councilman in San Diego answered affirmatively these two questions:

(1) Do you favor the city manager form of government?

(2) Do you believe that the charter provision giving the manager the sole power to appoint and making him responsible for the efficiency of departments should be strictly observed and that the council should keep hands off?

One way of getting councilmen to sign on the dotted line!

* * *

First steps towards revision of the city charter of San Francisco have been taken by a special subcommittee headed by Robert Searls, former assistant city attorney.

* * *

Hollis Thompson, secretary-manager of the Berkeley, California, Chamber of Commerce, has been appointed city manager of that city to replace John N. Edy, who becomes manager of Flint, Michigan, at a salary of $15,000. Mr. Edy has been manager of Berkeley since its adoption of the manager form of government in July, 1923.

* * *

The proposed city manager charter for St. Paul was defeated for the second time on June 16 by a vote of 28,553 to 20,888. Apathy of the non-machine voters was apparently responsible for the result. More than 125,000 citizens of St. Paul are qualified to vote.

* * *

The St. Louis board of aldermen has practically abolished the efficiency board by cutting its appropriation from $30,000 to less than $4,000. This board is the city's civil service commission, and, unless corrected later, the action of the aldermen means the abandonment of the merit principle in the city's government.

* * *

The Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research proposes a constitutional amendment to abolish the county of Philadelphia and to provide that such functions as are county functions in other counties shall be city functions in Philadelphia. Although the city and county were supposed to have been consolidated in 1854, a virtual county government remains for many purposes. The confused situation resulting can only be clarified by constitutional amendment.

* * *

A joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Ohio state constitution providing for home rule for counties has been drafted by a sub-committee of the Ohio State Chamber of Commerce of which Charles P. Taft, 2nd, is chairman. The amendment would also permit townships and municipalities within the borders of a county to grant to the county powers which they now possess.

HOWARD P. JONES.

LOS ANGELES VOTES EXTENSION OF WATER SUPPLY SYSTEM

BY THOMAS F. FORD
Los Angeles

Citizens approve $38,800,000 bond issue for normal expansion of water system until Colorado River project is finished. :: :: :: ::

Los Angeles, the fastest growing city in the million-or-over class in the United States, on May 20, by a vote of 9 to 1, approved of bonds amounting to $38,800,000. These bonds were for the increasing of the city's water supply sufficiently to enable it to continue its normal expansion until the waters of the Colorado River are brought in, some ten or twelve years hence.

The funds derived from this bond issue will be expended on a fifty-fifty basis, one-half for water and water-bearing lands and one-half for increased facilities for handling, storing and distributing the newly acquired water.

The additional water supply will come from the Owens Valley and the Mono Basin. The latter is a watershed about 60 miles north of the principal source of the city's present supply. This will insure the city 440 second feet from its aqueduct, which together with such water as can be pumped from the underground water sources in the Los Angeles River basin will give a water supply for approximately 2,500,000 people.

The election was significant for two reasons. The first is that the whole future development of the city hung on the decision of the people as to whether or not an adequate water supply was to be made available. The second was the revelation of the important fact that though the population of the city has increased five fold since the vote on the aqueduct was taken, making a practically new electorate, the same spirit of coöperation and progress was evidenced that prevailed back in 1907 when the Owens River Aqueduct project was first voted upon. The vote at that time was 10 to 1, the vote on the latest issue was 9 to 1. Many of the present voters have come to the city recently. There seems to be something in the climate of Los Angeles that imbues all citizens, new and old, with a spirit of faith in its future that makes for progress. When public improvements are needed the citizens have the vision and the courage to provide the funds.

The city's present water system is valued at $118,000,000. The annual revenue is in excess of $9,000,000. In addition to this the city owns its own hydro-electric system consisting of five major power plants and a distributing system valued at a sum in excess of $75,000,000, with a yearly gross revenue income of approximately $15,000,000.

WORK BEGUN IN 1907

Work on the Owens Valley Aqueduct started in 1907. It was completed in 1913. It involved the expenditure of $25,000,000 which was, to say the least, a major financial undertaking for a city with a population of less than 200,000. But the people backed it. Though the financial commitments were out of all proportion to the city's taxable assets at the time, it was carried

by an overwhelming vote. It was a much more formidable enterprise than the present $38,800,000 commitment or, in fact, than will be the giant undertaking involved in bringing in the Colorado River water.

But the faith of the people was fully justified. In 1907 the gross annual production of manufactures was approximately $1,000,000. Today the gross value of manufactured products in the district is in excess of $1,300,000,000. There are approximately 5,000 manufacturing plants, attracted and fostered by low rates for both water and power.

Just what the waters of the Owens Valley have meant to Los Angeles is readily realized when we find that the city-owned bureau of power and light, using the waters of the aqueduct for motive power, has earned gross revenues in excess of $88,000,000 in the twelve-year period of its operation. It is, however, impossible to compute the vast amount of wealth that has been added to the city's store from these two utilities. If we take the $38,800,000 that have been saved the citizens on power rates alone, plus the increase in industries, expanded payrolls and general progress, we would arrive at a stupendous sum.

Suffice it to say in this connection that the city's assessed valuation in 1914 was $481,000,000. In 1930 that figure has arisen to over $2,000,000,000.

The waters of the aqueduct originating in Owens Valley, 250 miles north of the city, are passed through the five different power plants at varying levels along the line. Thus two major utilities are made available to the city: an adequate water supply for domestic, commercial and industrial purposes, and a supply of power, for all uses, sold at exceedingly low rates to the citizens.

The department is conducted by a board of water and power commissioners, five in number. The bureau of water works and supply is under the direction of H. A. Van Norman, as chief engineer. The bureau of power and light is under the direct charge of E. F. Scattergood, chief electrical engineer and general manager.

When the Owens River water was brought in, in 1913, it was estimated that a water supply sufficient for 1,500,000 people was assured. This population it was thought would be here in 1940. But owing to a series of dry years, in both Los Angeles and the Owens Valley, on the one hand, and an unprecedented increase in population on the other, all engineering and statistical estimates fell short. Hence it became necessary for the city, with its present population of 1,231,730, to take immediate steps to prevent a water shortage during the ten- or twelve-year period that it will take to make the Colorado River waters available.

This Colorado River water will be secured through the medium of the metropolitan water district. The district comprises ten coastal plain cities in addition to Los Angeles. The water will be brought in by means of an aqueduct approximately 300 miles in length. This aqueduct will carry 1,500 second feet of water, 82 per cent of which will be allocated to Los Angeles. This, it is estimated, will care for her needs for at least another generation.

MOVING PLATFORMS AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR STREET CARS

BY EMERSON P. SCHMIDT
University of Oregon

A new invention designed to replace street cars and subway trains.

A MATERIAL advance over Karel Capek's robots now is being put forward in Detroit, the city of belts, conveyors and machine tenders. This time it is to be a method of urban transportation which, if successful, is destined to dispense with motormen, conductors and all other train service men on all the rapid transit lines of the modern city. The consumer is to get the benefit; after construction, the operating cost is to be negligible.

The inventor, Mr. Herman E. Taylor of the Detroit municipal railway, has had constructed a complete working model which appears to operate perfectly. Briefly, two endless moving platforms will be set in an underground passageway, underneath the present sidewalks traveling out from the city's center on one side of the street and in on the other side.[1] Entering the tunnel, the passenger would pass through a turnstile and face the gates of an outer or variable speed platform. At frequent intervals this outer platform automatically would slow down to a speed of three-quarters of a mile an hour and the passenger would board the platform. Now he would face the inner platform which is always going 20 miles an hour.

Upon the ringing of a bell the outer gates would gradually close and then the first platform would speed up until it, too, was going 20 miles an hour, and the second set of gates would automatically open, allowing the passenger to walk over onto the inner platform to take one of the continuous succession of seats.

Upon arriving at his destination, he simply would step on to the outer platform, when it was going the same speed as the inner and then wait until the outer platform slowed down to three-quarters of a mile an hour and the gates were open, permitting him to step out. At the end of the route the platforms would loop and make the return trip on the opposite side of the street. The system would carry 70,000 seated persons past a given point every hour. They could board or alight at any point along the route. Every cross-street would be a loading point. No subway system in the world reaches such efficiency on a single track. With standees the Taylor system would probably equal the carrying capacity of a four-track subway system.

THE DRIVING MECHANISM

On the bottom side of the platforms are mounted driving pins which reach into the grooves of driving screws located beneath. These screws are driven by electric motors, and, as they revolve, the pins underneath the platforms mesh into the grooves of the screws, and thus the platforms are moved forward. The screws and mo-

[1] A "step railway," somewhat similar, was invented by a German named H. Retting about 1888. See *Street Railway Journal* for May, 1890, p. 261.

tors would appear at intervals of about one-eighth of a mile. The screws beneath the outer platform have a constant high pitch at the two ends and a constant low pitch in the middle with varying pitch grooves leading from the high pitch at either end to the low in the center, thus moving the platforms from a high speed to a low speed and a high again as the pin traveling along the groove goes from one end of the screw to the other.

Several engineers have made careful investigations and announce the plan exceedingly ingenious, but fear that certain of the mechanical parts may not stand the strain, to which the inventor replies that it will be merely a matter of strengthening those parts, should the engineers prove correct, which he doubts. To a layman who has seen the platforms in continuous operation for a long period without a mishap or slip, all the objections advanced against the plan, however important, appear in the same light as the doubts of the pessimists during the infancy of the automobile and aeroplane industries.

Should the plan prove successful mechanically and financially it is destined to displace all the train service labor now engaged in our large cities in rapid transport and perhaps ultimately in all local street railways as well. Perhaps even the fare collector will be dispensed with, for then our cities may view local transportation as a free public function to be supported out of the general coffers just as a street lighting system or the streets and sidewalks themselves.

FOR A NEW MODEL STATE CONSTITUTION

BY HOWARD WHITE
Miami University

Time to overhaul our Model Constitution

The Model State Constitution of the National Municipal League will soon be ten years old. Acceptance of the Jeffersonian principle that each generation should have an opportunity to determine for itself the proper form of government does not necessitate for several years submitting to its "constituents," the members of the National Municipal League, the question of holding a convention to revise the Constitution. It is, however, designed to be a Model Constitution. If it is to be used as a model it must be kept up to date. Ten years is not too brief a period in which to allow new ideas to develop before incorporating them in a revised document. The need for stability in basic institutions forbids yearly models but should not preclude decennial models.

What changes shall we make? Obviously, that is for no one person to decide. As a constitutional engineer—for this is the day of engineers in government—I suggest that there should be changes in the body lines of the new model as well as some modification of the mechanism.

THE CABINET AND THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

The maximum of both power and speed from each gallon of gasoline con-

tributed by the taxpayers, easy steering, effective control, and riding comfort for both front and rear-seat citizen drivers are objectives we must always seek to attain. The writer has pointed out elsewhere that too much friction is likely to develop from the dual steering mechanism involved in the legislative council and the governor's cabinet, both of which are empowered to formulate and propound programs for legislative deliberations.[1] As to which of these devices should be discarded, reasons and authorities have been adduced against giving an independent executive branch the right to present and debate legislative measures.[2] Finally, one new device, more frequent legislative sessions, copied from city council procedure, but remarkably suited to a unicameral body, has been proposed.[3] True, the need for more frequent meetings is in part obviated by providing for the continuously functioning legislative council. Moreover, the power vested in the majority of the council to call the legislature in special sessions might accomplish the result sought without verbal change. But it is believed that there should be express constitutional recognition of the desirability of frequent sessions.

Brevity, a short wheelbase, though desirable for some purposes, must not be obtained by sacrificing essential mechanism. Section 11 of the 1921 model contains some safeguards relating to criminal prosecutions. The right of trial by jury is assured, but there is no provision for a grand jury or an alternative method of presenting charges. Surely this feature must not be left out.

[1] National Municipal Review, August, 1926, pp. 441–444.

[2] *Constitutional Review*, July, 1928, pp. 148–156; ibid., April, 1929, pp. 101–102.

[3] *American Political Science Review*, February 1927, pp. 95–100; Dodd, *State Government* (2d edition), p. 170.

Another suggestion, if adopted, would further lengthen the 1930 model. Are members of the National Municipal League content to leave, even to their model legislature, redistricting after each decennial census? Disregard of similar provisions in state legislatures and in Congress may be attributed to undemocratic bases of representation, not found in the Model Constitution. But is it not better to incorporate full instructions in the constitution and authorize some executive authority to lay out the districts? The executive branch does not have the same personal interest in the retention of old district lines that members of the legislature have. Apportionment in accordance with specific constitutional rules is more an administrative than a legislative function.

In the second place, some new lines are needed in an up-to-date model. The first line causing a blurred and indistinct impression is in Section 27. "Any bill failing of passage by the legislature may be submitted to referendum by order of the governor if at least one-third of all members shall have been recorded as voting in favor of the bill when it was upon final passage." If the majority of the legislature are opposed to a measure, there seems to be no certainty that it will be advanced to a vote on final passage. If this constructive check on the majority is to be effective, should not the governor be empowered to submit any bill which the legislature refuses or neglects to pass, whenever one-third of its members *sign a petition* requesting a referendum? Or else require a final vote to be taken on all measures introduced.

INCONSISTENCIES

The next sentence in Section 27 provides for submitting to referendum by majority vote of the legislature any

bill which fails to obtain the two-thirds vote to pass over the governor's objections. But Section 37 says that "no measure shall be submitted to the people by the legislature except proposed constitutional amendments." Should not "and except as provided in Section 27" be added? Surely this is a submission by the legislature.

Section 37 also provides that "the veto power of the governor shall not extend to measures initiated by, or referred to, the people." Since the veto must be exercised within ten days or, after adjournment, within thirty days after the bill has been presented to the governor and since the referendum provided for in the preceding sections (34–36) cannot be invoked until the legislative process is completed, it seems unnecessary to retain the phrase, "or referred to." If it is intended to apply to the referendum by majority vote of the legislature, that intention should be made more evident.

Another peculiar line is found in Section 42, empowering the governor "in case of a disagreement with respect to the time of adjournment" to adjourn the legislature. Perhaps rightly has this provision been incorporated in many state constitutions which set up bicameral legislatures, but did not the committee which drafted the Model Constitution forget for the moment that it was providing for a unicameral assembly? Conceivably two houses might disagree on this question, but it seems highly improbable that one body should be unable to decide when to adjourn. Moreover, since the governor may adjourn the legislature "to such time as he shall think proper, not beyond the first day of the next regular session," this power, if exercised, might conflict with the power vested in the legislative council "by a majority vote of the members" (Section 18) to call special sessions of the legislature.

A portion of the last sentence in Section 63 is not clear. Probably this is a typographical error and "of" should be substituted for "in the district in." In Section 96 the reference should be to Section 95 and in Section 97 it should be to Section 40 instead of 94. This error has been noted in some of the copies.

Undoubtedly, others can suggest additional improvements, both in mechanism and in form. It is time for a new model! A new model will stimulate sales and aid in relieving unemployment.

THE IOWA COUNTY BUDGET LAW

BY JOHN W. MANNING
University of Kentucky

The new budget law for Polk County is good as far as it goes and will undoubtedly improve financial practice. It illustrates, however, the limitations which the prevailing forms of county government impose upon any attempt to apply thoroughgoing budget principles to an antiquated organization. :: :: :: :: :: :: ::

THE budget has come to be a necessity in both city and state government, but its introduction into the field of county government has been unusually slow. Polk County, Iowa's most populous county, which includes the city of Des Moines, has adopted a county budget, and is finding that it is proving a success.

In his recommendation to the legislature in 1929, Governor Hammill of Iowa recognized that county government in that state needed overhauling, and suggested study of the matter with a view to reorganization. The proposal originally came from the Bureau of Municipal Research of Des Moines. Nothing of a comprehensive nature resulted from the proposal, although the Forty-third General Assembly did enact a limited county budget law which has caused favorable comment throughout the country.

WHAT THE LAW REQUIRES

The bill providing for the county budget system was introduced by the senator from Polk County. The law is applicable only to counties having a population of one hundred twenty-five thousand or more. Polk County is the only county in the state having a population so large, and thus it is the only county to which the act applies.

Each county officer in charge of any office or department, in the county where the act applies, is required on or before December 31 of each year to prepare and submit to the county board of supervisors his estimate of proposed expenditures for the following year. The board, not later than January 31 of each year, may appropriate such amounts as it deems necessary for the maintenance of the various departments for the current year. The law states that the board may appropriate a contingent fund to be spent for purposes not anticipated at the beginning of the year, but this fund together with other appropriations may not exceed the anticipated revenues. However, the measure does provide that if the actual receipts to any county fund are larger than were anticipated, supplementary appropriations may be made if it can be shown that a specific need exists. In case any office has exceeded its appropriation in any particular account or finds it necessary to do so, the board of supervisors may authorize a transfer of funds from one or more of the appropriation accounts of the office. Transfers from one department or office to another may be made, provided that the funds transferred are derived from the same tax fund, and that the transfers do not violate existing statutes.

The state budget director and the Bureau of Municipal Research of

Des Moines have shown great interest in this reform in Polk County. The budget director permitted one of his assistants to give his full time for several weeks to the installation of the budget, on the theory that if it got a good start in Polk County, other counties would want to participate later in the provisions of the law. The state budget official set up the budget and helped the departments to compute their budget requests.

The board of supervisors is coöperating fully in the scheme, and, at its January meeting, reduced many of the expenditure estimates considerably. The estimates of expenditure of the county department heads in 1930 amounted to $1,455,550.76, an increase of $117,771.59 over last year. Appropriations made by the supervisors were less than the amounts asked for, and in the minds of a great many people in Polk County the budget has proved its worth from the beginning.

By adopting the budget plan, Polk County holds a unique place among Iowa counties, since it is the first to change the order of things. There is a crying need over the country for restriction in the cost of county government. In an effort to reduce expenses, county consolidation is being studied in several states, and tried in one American commonwealth; improved business methods are being suggested elsewhere, and the county manager is being discussed in other states. Certainly a county cannot lose anything by the adoption of a budget system, since it is the most logical place for an attack upon the wastes of county government. Polk County has already profited by its budget, and other counties in Iowa and elsewhere would do well to make use of such a method.

BUSINESS DISTRICTS IN SUBDIVISION PLANNING

BY CAROL ARONOVICI
City Planner

New methods of estimating area needed for business districts in a zone plan must be developed. There is no cut and dried formula. ::

Before me in trim outline lies a plan for a real estate subdivision. The plan covers enough acreage to accommodate a town that would be no mean county seat. There is also before me a letter from the subdivider admonishing me to provide ample business lots, the kind that take little room and command a high price.

Does my client mean that I should take into account the need for business frontage in harmony with local needs, does he mean that I should avoid inconvenience to his prospective purchasers so they would have adequate shopping facilities, or does he merely intend that I should create a sufficient business frontage to saturate the prospective market as measured in terms of high pressure sales power?

The planner is rather in a quandary when placed between the millstones of diplomatic handling of an unreasonable client and prophecy as to reasonable future demands for business uses.

There are no cut and dried methods

of calculating business frontage either in its relation to the available market for land sales or to use. The point of view varies with the particular interests represented, whether they be those of the subdivider, the city authorities, the city planner, the actual or prospective property owner and user or the speculator.

Here and there we find an effort towards standardization derived from a series of more or less intensive studies coupled with compromises arrived at by methods not wholly in harmony with either good planning or good economics.

To one whose interest in city planning and zoning is both scientific and professional—the two sometimes do go together—the impression gained from the methods of determining the amount of business zoning is one that should inspire the satirist to high flights of creative literature and the humorist to broaden his field of usefulness by revealing to some of our good citizens how amusing they are when engaged in the struggle for "ample business zones."

Some of us solemnly assert that 100 persons for every hundred feet of business frontage is just exactly right. Others would accept from 125 to 150 persons for every fifty feet of business frontage as reasonable and in keeping with good planning. This quantitative method seems so simple that it threatens to be accepted as right and reasonable.

Assuming, however, that the population to be served were to remain the same there are still many factors to be considered which would of necessity and by the application of the simplest elements of reasoning alter the above-cited proportions.

NOT FRONTAGE BUT USE DETERMINES

No great flight of the imagination is necessary, however, to discover that it is not frontage but use that determines the number, sizes and character of lots required for business purposes. One-story shallow buildings represent quite a different business potentiality when compared with two-, three- and four-story buildings with considerable floor area and intensive service. Business buildings built up in courts on wide blocks will certainly serve a larger clientele per lot or square foot of business zoning than the little huts just deep enough to house a hot dog arena or a barbecue emporium.

It would seem, therefore, that no scientific standards of business zoning can be evolved without at the same time giving consideration to the type of business to be developed, the type and height of building contemplated or to be permitted, and the intensity of the land use that might be possible under the plan. In other words, any cut and dried standard which merely represents a relation between population and business frontage may be as far off the mark as an estimate of the birth rate in a community based on the quantity production of baby carriages.

The function of zoning as I understand it is not merely the classification of community functions by the creation of geographically circumscribed land uses, but the evolving of methods of community development which would be consistent with sound land economics, and would promote orderly and continuous community building with the least expectation of radical and costly changes.

May I hope that the reader will not misunderstand my purpose in calling into question the common practices of present-day zoning. My concern is not with the value of zoning as a means of community control, which can no longer be questioned, but with the assumption that it is a simple process devoid of important scientific technical

requirements that can be applied by anyone placed by accident or community standing in an official position entrusted with the task of developing and enforcing zoning regulations.

It is my contention that ideal business zoning is only possible when bulk, area, building design and character of business use can to some degree at least be predetermined as part of zoning and zoning regulation. Whether this be done by deed requirements and restrictions or by legislation is of little importance provided the aim embodies an honest effort to make zoning more than a mere subterfuge for the boosting of land values.

Whatever the method of zoning control, it must be based upon potential business, otherwise it is merely the expression of a desire to capitalize land-market possibilities without regard to the essential community needs or the interest of the ultimate purchaser of land. This is a practice so common and socially so wasteful that I believe the time is not far distant when the public authorities will demand that sales of business property be predicated upon some reasonable assurance based upon facts that the land sold is suitable for such a purpose. Such a procedure will not only inspire new confidence in real estate transactions but will do away with much of the present difficulties in the way of good zoning and good planning in general.

The subdivision plan which called forth some of the above discussion is still before me. I would like to give my client what he wants and retain his good will, but back of it all lurks the feeling that I have no facts and no acceptable standards from which to start my compromise. If my client will stand the expense and the delay, the facts could be ascertained. But one cannot write essays on zoning to subdividers or put forward elaborate schemes of investigation and research without running the risk of losing a fee. However, I shall do the best I can with our client and take comfort in presenting a scheme of study which might satisfy one's fastidious taste for accuracy and a certain degree of scientific honesty.

MUST STUDY BUSINESS POTENTIALITIES

Assuming, therefore, that in our mind's eye we can establish the most efficient and far-reaching control over business zones in new subdivisions, let us see just how varied and complex a study of business potentialities may be or should be carried on before determining upon the required amount of business frontage in a district or a particular subdivision.

In brief outline, some of the studies that might be undertaken to secure an approximation of the relation between the business area or frontage and the district to be served may be stated as follows:

1. Number of potential purchasers in the district.
2. The purchasing power of the population.
3. Proximity and accessibility to central shopping districts.
4. Cash-and-carry population as against delivery population.
5. Tributary and transient shopping population.
6. Distance from and character of main shopping center.
7. Prevailing types of business buildings.

1. NUMBER OF POTENTIAL PURCHASERS

In planning a subdivision the future population can be estimated with a reasonable degree of accuracy in a single-family district. Their purchasing power will, of course, depend upon the class of dwellings, the racial and group character of the prospective

home owners, etc. On the whole however with some study of neighboring communities and a knowledge of the grade of development expected there should be little difficulty in fixing —with some degree of flexibility—the size of the business district. As soon however as the element of multiple dwellings is injected into the development of the subdivision the possibility for estimating the business needs and the purchasing power of the district becomes more remote. All we can do is to conjecture on the basis of the experience of other similar districts. How remote from the actual fact this conjecture might be can only be guessed, but if sufficient consideration is given to local practices under similar conditions and comparative statistical studies are made and proper account is taken of all the economic and social factors, such as density of population, proximity to places of employment, orientation of traffic to and from the subdivision, etc., an approximation of the potential purchasing population can be reached.

It should not be assumed however that population spells purchasing power. To say that there is any fixed relation between the number of persons in a district and their purchasing power is to disregard all facts as to our economic stratification and the attending social conditions which determine and control purchasing power.

2. PURCHASING POWER OF THE POPULATION

The purchasing power of a given population is quite difficult to estimate. While the essentials of living may not differ materially, the luxuries and the demand for what might be called the amenities of life vary with each group and class of people. The marketable goods in an industrial district will no doubt vary from those in a college community and the demands of a white-collar middle class might vary considerably from those of a so-called high-class, exclusive residential district. Whether the purchasing power represents largely local trade, or whether the purchasing power of the potential population will extend from the neighborhood to the central business district or the fashionable metropolitan markets of the world should be determined with some degree of approximation. We have enough accumulated experience in many of our cities to reach more or less satisfactory conclusions along this line, and a few careful investigations might throw valuable light upon the whole question.

I am not aware that such studies transcend the importance of the issues involved, nor can I feel that this field of investigation is less important than many of the studies in the field of land economics which colleges, universities and research foundations have brought forth in recent years.

Business zoning as practiced in many of our cities constitutes a menace to the fundamental principles of zoning and to the legal and economic structure upon which zoning is presumed to be based.

3. PROXIMITY AND ACCESSIBILITY TO CENTRAL SHOPPING DISTRICTS

In calculating purchasing power in a district or a subdivision it is not safe to assume that the total purchasing power of the population will go to build up the local business district. The type, size, and variety of the business district will, in a large measure, determine the extent of local shopping. It is safe to assume, however, that much of the local shopping resources will go to some larger nearby center or to the center of the community.

A considerable amount of success of local shopping districts could be as-

sured by control, not only of the location of business area, but by predetermining the type, reliability, and size of business as well as character of building to be constructed for such business. Many a neighborhood center has been a failure, not because there has been too little demand for business frontage, but because the type of business established has failed to harmonize with local needs either as to type or as to character of goods offered. In high grade subdivisions it will soon be necessary for the subdivider, not only to provide business districts, but to build the buildings and exercise a certain control over their methods of operation. The control over business districts may be an important factor in maintaining a high standard of residential lot values and business frontage values.

A beautiful subdivision fringed with hot dog stands, barbecues, gasoline stations, etc., will soon deteriorate values for both residential and business uses.

4. CASH-AND-CARRY POPULATION AS AGAINST DELIVERY POPULATION

There is little question that in certain districts where shopping is done individually at the store and where the delivery system is not highly developed, the location of the store must be such as to be accessible to most residents in the community. The little satellite centers of business in certain residential districts are the outcome of much hand-to-mouth shopping where delivery is not required. The habits and usages of the people must, therefore, be considered before the amount of business frontage and its location is determined upon. There are also, as in California, the drive-in markets which have a very important relation to the local shopping center and which do a very considerable business on a comparatively small frontage. The clientele of a district is, therefore, quite a factor in business zoning and it should, therefore, not be assumed that business capacity of necessity stands in any very close relation to business frontage.

I am rather surprised that so far we have not developed some kind of professional expert whose function it would be to study conditions in specific districts and advise the owners of the real business needs and possibilities of each district. It is quite conceivable that intensive observation and study along this line might develop technical skill and a certain mathematical accuracy in calculating business probabilities so as to do away with the present speculative and hazardous method of business distribution and uses.

5. TRIBUTARY AND TRANSIENT SHOPPING POPULATION

Much emphasis is often placed upon the values of transient shopping either from passing traffic or from neighboring districts. This idea has led to the absurd belief that all main traffic arteries afford good shopping frontage with the result that hundreds of miles of open highway are strung with business zones demanded by property owners on the theory that where traffic passes trade flows. On this theory it was found that if every boulevard frontage in Los Angeles County were to be zoned for business there would be more business frontage than could be reasonably expected from all of the population of the United States.

The city planner knows that the mere stringing of business zoning along a main artery does not create business. On the other hand, a free award of zoning classification results in the destruction of much residential land value without the compensating development of business. The sale of one store site on a residential main thor-

oughfare may destroy the chances for hundreds of sales of the same property for residential uses, while there never could be a market for business uses.

It is quite clear that the transient trading would best be served by the creation of centers where one stop would be sufficient to purchase a number of commodities instead of one kind of commodity at the time as would be the case in shoestring business zoning.

So far we have little information as to the number of successes and failures of business enterprises based upon the different methods of business zoning. There is a fertile field for investigation which would prove of great economic value to investors, and incidentally might facilitate better zoning. Whether we fear to face the facts or are merely not conscious of the need for such studies because of the "*economic distance*" between the original subdivider anxious for business zoning and the ultimate user of business property, I cannot say. I suspect, however, that the latter is the real reason.

That there is a gradation in the types of shopping districts, in so far as their clientele is concerned, everyone knows. The smaller districts serve certain needs, while the larger ones serve wider and more varied needs according to their relation to population centers. In calculating the amount of business frontage or business area it is important, therefore, that some account be taken of the various grades of business centers in the vicinity and the effect that their presence would have upon the center contemplated.

6. DISTANCE FROM AND CHARACTER OF MAIN SHOPPING CENTER

The automobile and the downtown congestion of traffic coupled with the great decentralization of population in many of our cities have brought about a considerable number of changes in the distribution of business activity in the community. The grocery store has moved as close to the home as possible, while other business activities have to a large extent sought refuge from traffic congestion, by following the decentralization of population. Instead of one great center of business we have many satellite centers scattered at more or less strategic points and intended to serve the same needs as the main business center of the city. These smaller centers share with the main center in the general trade and with the local center in the sale of goods of everyday use. In other words, the satellite centers of trade are the "halfway house" between the home center and the congested main center.

Wherever these satellite centers exist there is little opportunity for residential business centers and the planning of subdivisions should take this fact into account. To strike a balance between the local needs and the availability of shopping points in the vicinity of a subdivision should be the aim of good zoning. The main center will, of course, always exact a certain amount of business from the city as a whole no matter how effectively the local centers are developed.

In my estimation it seems quite possible to secure reasonably accurate data as to the distribution of trade in relation to certain centers and to formulate some guiding principles which would aid in subdivision zoning. It is not so much a question of complexity of factors as a matter of intensity of study of these factors.

In measuring distances from the home to the various centers we would, of course, take into account not mileage, but "time-distance" including time consumed in parking, travel, access to store, transportation of purchase to car, etc.

7. PREVAILING TYPES OF BUSINESS BUILDINGS

It has been established by long use that the basis of business capacity is to be found in the amount of business frontage. Recently there has been some change from this method of calculation because of a more intelligent planning of business blocks and a more efficient distribution of floor space. The new method of constructing business centers around a court may lead to a new method of construction and to a new method of laying out business centers. The usual business lot, which is merely an area smaller than a residence lot commanding a larger price, may eventually be supplanted by quite a different lot unit, bearing a new relation to the street frontage. The engineer and architect may find in this tendency a new field for original planning that will bring about valuable results. There has been considerable originality displayed in the laying out of residential districts in recent years. There is a similar opportunity in laying out and building up business districts. Eventually there might be a way found whereby to harmonize the greed for high revenue from business uses of land with utility and stability of business development. Surely where the issue is so clear the solution should not be far off.

A SCIENCE OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT NEEDED

The outline I present for investigation into the real basis for business zoning is by no means complete. It is merely suggestive of the possibilities for scientific research and the limited available data upon which sound zoning may be based. In presenting these questions I am aware of the danger to zoning that might come from the ignorant landowner who is seeking to discredit zoning. I am also not unmindful of the possible attacks to which this discussion is open on the part of official and professional zoners and planners who might resent any allegation that what is done, or rather what they do, cannot be right.

It seems unavoidable that aside from the general principles which we may have developed in zoning communities we must treat each parcel of land to be subdivided as a separate and distinct problem involving a multitude of social, economic and psychological factors. Coupled with what is coming to be the science of real estate we must have a science of community development consistent, not alone with the immediate productivity of land sales, but also sound social productivity of land use.

The myth of business zoning as a measure of land values will be destroyed in the course of time by the sheer weight of its fallacy. In the meantime however we are building up our communities on unsound principles. Has the time not come to face the facts?

My client has just left me. I had the temerity to read to him some portions of this article in the hope of anticipating his disappointment and stimulating his otherwise keen sense of safe business. After an embarrassing silence he placed a large cigar on my desk and parted with the remark: "Well, you provide all the business frontage you can and leave it to the sales manager to do the rest."

MOTIVES FOR VOTING AS SHOWN BY THE CINCINNATI P. R. ELECTION OF 1929

BY HAROLD F. GOSNELL
University of Chicago

When information regarding the candidates is available, an analysis of the transfers made under the Hare system of proportional representation throws light upon motives for voting. A study of the returns for the 1929 Cincinnati councilmanic elections shows that the rivalry between the charter committee and the organization Republican party outweighed all other factors. The factor of color came next in importance. Nationalistic, religious and class influences were relatively insignificant. :: :: :: :: :: :: :: ::

THE Hare system of proportional representation offers some unusual opportunities to study motives for voting. Assuming that the voters of a given characteristic, such as affiliation with a certain party, tend to choose candidates of that party, then the first choices of the voters under the Hare system should reflect the strength of that party, if the array of candidates is sufficiently representative. It is reasonable to suppose that the political leaders will choose candidates who are typical of large groups of voters. It is also rational to assume that a voter when asked to choose the one candidate who will represent him best will choose that candidate who has group interests similar to his own. Joseph P. Harris in a recent article has stated that municipal candidates should be voted for because of their ability, experience, and integrity, rather than their membership in a particular race, religion, party, group, belief or disbelief in prohibition, or their stand on other particular public questions.[1] If cities were not made up of conflicting groups, or if it were possible to find candidates who were aloof from the social process, this might be the ideal situation. However, in any large metropolitan community, group interests cross and crisscross each other in many varied patterns. Under the Hare system it is likely that a voter in selecting his second and other choices will take candidates who resemble closely his first choice. The most thorough method of checking this hypothesis would be to examine all the choices of all the voters in a proportional representation election. Unfortunately, the ordinary count under the Hare system does not permit such an analysis. On the other hand, the transfers made under this system make it possible to examine a sample of the second, third and other choices.

There are several things which must be kept in mind in analyzing the transfers under the Hare system. In any given election the sample of second, third and other choices given by the transfers is likely to be very incomplete. Many of the preferences which one would like to study are not given. Furthermore, as the end of the count

[1] "The Practical Workings of Proportional Representation in the United States and Canada," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, XIX (1930), 371.

approaches the number of available choices left becomes smaller and smaller. Many of the transfers near the end, therefore, will not represent second and third choices but rather fourth, fifth, and even later choices. It may happen at a given stage in the count that there are no candidates to whom votes may be transferred who closely resemble the candidates eliminated. In such a case the transfers actually made should not be interpreted as showing a crossing of group lines.

The Cincinnati council election of 1929 has been chosen for the purpose of studying the influence of party affiliation, color, nationality and religion upon the preferences of the voters. This election was chosen because more complete data on the candidates were available to the author than on the candidates in other proportional representation elections. The 1929 election was the third one under the Hare system held in Cincinnati.[1] At each of these elections a council of nine has been chosen at large by the voters of the entire city. In the 1929 election there were 138,763 valid ballots cast and 57,957 transfers were made.[2] Fairly complete information was obtained regarding the party affiliations, the nationality, the color, and the religion of each of the twenty-four candidates who entered the campaign. It was not possible to obtain any objective criteria of the ability of the candidates.

PARTY AFFILIATION

A preliminary analysis of the first two proportional representation elections in Cincinnati showed that local party affiliation was the most important consideration influencing the choices of the voters.[3] In the 1929 election this same condition was found to hold. The struggle for control in Cincinnati at this election as in the previous campaigns was between the charter party and the so-called "organization" Republican party. The charter ticket was made up by a citizens' organization which had no political affiliations outside of city elections. Six of the charter candidates were Republican and three Democratic in national elections. The organization Republican ticket was made up of candidates endorsed by the Republican Executive Committee. Of the 24,083 transfers made from organization Republican candidates, 19,930 went to other organization Republican candidates, 1,886 went to charter Republicans, 1,898 went to charter Democrats, and 370 went to independent candidates. Of the 20,368 transfers made from charter Republicans, 3,014 went to organization Republicans, 10,170 went to other charter Republicans, 7,081 went to charter Democrats and 103 went to independents. Of the 5,819 transfers made from independents, 2,968 went to organization Republicans, 897 went to charter Republicans, 1,055 went to charter Democrats and 899 went to other independents. These transfers can be more clearly presented by percentages in tabular form:

[1] On these elections see Harris, *op. cit.;* S. G. Lowrie, "Proportional Representation in Cincinnati," *American Political Science Review,* XX, 367 (May, 1926) and H. Bentley, "What Proportional Representation Has Done for Cincinnati," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, XVIII, 65 (February, 1929).

[2] The last transfer of 11,459 ballots was not considered because it did not affect the outcome of the election. In Cincinnati the count is taken one step beyond what is necessary. The choices are so limited on this last step that the transfers mean little.

[3] H. G. Holcomb, *A Study of Proportional Representation in American Cities* (Manuscript, University of Chicago, 1929).

TRANSFERS ON A PARTY BASIS IN CINCINNATI ELECTION, 1929

	Per cent to organization Republicans	Per cent to charter Republicans	Per cent to charter Democrats	Per cent to independents
From organization Republicans	82.8	7.8	7.9	1.5
From charter Republicans	14.8	50.0	34.8	.4
From independents	51.1	15.4	18.1	15.4

All the three charter Democratic candidates were elected so there were no transfers from charter Democrats. The above table clearly shows that struggle between the charter party and the organization Republican party was an extremely important factor in the election. Grouping all the charter candidates together, it is clear that over 82 per cent of all transfers from organization Republicans or charter candidates went to candidates on the same ticket. In other words only 16 or 17 per cent of the second, third and other choices cut across the local party lines. When the many other complicating factors which enter into local elections are considered, this percentage should be regarded as a significant indication of strong local party discipline. The charter committee with its corps of volunteer workers showed itself to be a worthy rival of the organization Republicans.[1] It was natural that many voters marked their ballots according to a party ticket because considerable pressure was brought upon them to do so.

[1] It had an organization in 16 of the 26 wards in Cincinnati. Harris states, *op. cit.*, p. 359, that the loyalty of the majority of citizens of Cincinnati to the Charter Committee at the present time exceeds their loyalty to any party organization. This does not seem to me to be entirely accurate. In 1929 the official Democratic candidates were also Charter candidates. On the basis of first choices only, the organization Republicans received more votes than the charter Republicans.

INFLUENCE OF COLOR

The influence of color can be seen in the results of the 1929 election. A. Lee Beaty, a prominent Negro in Cincinnati, requested a place on the organization Republican ticket, but this was refused. Beaty then joined forces with the two independent Negro candidates and became their campaign manager. He advised the Negroes to vote only for the two Negro candidates and to express no other choices. The purpose of this move was to deprive the organization Republican candidates of the transfers from the independent Republican Negro candidates. This maneuver virtually deprived the organization Republicans of a fourth seat in the city council. The strength of the race consciousness of the Negroes in Cincinnati is reflected in the transfers. Of the 1,138 ballots transferred from the first Negro candidate eliminated, 853 or three-fourths went to the other independent Negro candidate. When the second Negro candidate was eliminated 55 per cent of his ballots were non-transferable. If Daly, a Republican candidate still in the running, had received these votes, he would have been elected instead of Pollak, the sixth Charter candidate elected. Harris, in the study already referred to, states that the failure of the Negro voters of Cincinnati to elect a member to council only proves that they do not vote along racial lines.[2] On

[2] P. 371.

the other hand, it appears to the present writer that this failure is due to the fact that it takes one tenth of the voters in Cincinnati to elect a candidate and the Negroes probably constitute less than that one tenth at the present time.[1]

NATIONALITY

It is more difficult to analyze the influence of nationality upon the Cincinnati election. In 1920, over 50 per cent of the inhabitants of the city were native whites of native parentage, and only 10.7 per cent were foreign born. Of the twenty-four candidates in the 1929 election only one was foreign born, an organization Republican born in Ireland. Four of organization Republican candidates were native born of German parentage. All of the charter candidates were native born of native parentage except one who was native born of Austrian parentage. Because of the limited number of choices available it is possible to analyze only the influence of German ancestry upon the voters' preferences.[2] Of the 10,938 ballots transferred from the first three organization Republican candidates of German parentage defeated, 4,468 or 40.8 per cent went to other organization Republican candidates of German parentage; 2,537 or 23.2 per cent went to organization Republican candidates of Irish extraction, 1,673 or 15.3 per cent went to organization Republican candidates of native parentage, and 691 or 6.3 per cent went to an organization Republican candidate whose father was a Polish Jew. The remaining ballots, making up 14.3 per cent of the total, went to charter candidates who were all native born of native parentage with the one exception mentioned above.

These transfers do not afford an opportunity to test the strength of the factor of German parentage as compared with the strength of the factor of local party politics. The voters who gave their first choices to organization Republican candidates of German parentage were not tempted to give their later choices to charter candidates of German parentage because there were none such. However, the transfers from these three candidates show that within the party ticket a plurality of the second and other choices was influenced by the factor of German parentage. Other things being equal, there was a tendency for voting to follow nationalistic lines in this election. The transfers from an organization Republican candidate of German parentage eliminated later in the count failed to show the same tendency. The choices were so limited that these transfers were not considered typical. In Cleveland where the foreign element in the population is proportionately much larger than in Cincinnati, the influence of nationality is much more clearly marked.[3]

LABOR

The charter group and the organization Republican group both attempted in the 1929 campaign to appeal to the labor vote. Each group nominated a labor candidate. The charter labor candidate, a native Protestant, was the president of the Typographical Union No. 3 and a former editor of several publications, while the organization Republican candidate, a native Protestant

[1] In 1920 the Negroes comprised 7.5 per cent of the total population of Cincinnati. In the 1929 election the combined vote of the two Negro candidates was under 7 per cent of the total vote cast.

[2] Of the two candidates of Irish extraction, one was elected and the other eliminated on the last count.

[3] *Proportional Representation Review,* January, 1930, pp. 18–20.

of German parentage, was the executive board member of the International Union of United Brewery Workers, the general manager of the American Ice Company, and a former state representative and a former state senator. The charter labor candidate was eliminated first. Of the 2,306 ballots transferred from him, only 124 or 5.4 per cent went to the organization Republican labor candidate. It is thus obvious that labor class consciousness played a very small part in the 1929 Cincinnati councilmanic election, although a labor official had been elected in 1925.

RELIGION

The three main religious groups in Cincinnati are the Protestant group which is the largest, the Catholic group which comes next, and the Jewish group which comes third. The charter committee and the organization Republican party each chose six Protestant candidates, two Catholic candidates and one Jewish candidate. It is possible to analyze only the transfers made from some of the Protestant candidates, as the Jewish candidate and the Catholic candidate eliminated kept in the race until the very end. Of 33,023 ballots transferred from ten Protestant candidates, 19,909 or 60.4 per cent went to other Protestant candidates, 8,779 or 26.5 per cent went to Catholic candidates, and 4,335 or 13.1 per cent went to Jewish candidates. The transfers were in the main from Protestant candidates on a given ticket to other Protestant candidates on the same ticket. Strictly speaking, the factor of local party endorsement should have been kept constant by analyzing the transfers from charter Protestants and Republican Protestants separately, but an examination of the individual returns showed that this was not necessary. No transfers were considered where there were no longer available Protestant candidates on the same ticket.

It might be argued that the above returns do not show, necessarily, a tendency to vote along religious lines. Since two-thirds of the leading candidates were Protestants, a pure chance distribution of the transfers might produce a result similar to the one given above. However, two Protestant candidates were elected right at the beginning of the count and other Protestant candidates were eliminated early in the count, so that at the time most of the transfers given above were made the proportion of Protestant candidates was considerably less than two-thirds. The transfers, then, show a tendency for the voters who supported Protestant candidates in the first place to mark their other preferences for Protestant candidates.[1] On the other hand, it should be noted that 40 per cent of these transfers went to non-Protestant candidates. This means clearly that religion was far from being the main consideration with these voters.

Two other interesting situations arose during the count which throw some light on the influence of the religious factor. When the ballots of the last charter Protestant candidate eliminated were to be transferred, there were no other charter Protestant candidates left to whom his ballots might be transferred, although there were still three charter non-Protestant and three Republican Protestant candidates in the running. How many

[1] Robert P. Goldman's study of the 1925 election, cited by Harris, *op. cit.*, p. 357, seems to indicate that religious considerations played a very minor rôle in this election. Seasongood and Dixon were successful vote-getters and appealed to many voters not in their religious groups. Consequently the transfers of their surpluses revealed a crossing of religious lines.

voters who took as their first choice a charter Protestant would ignore the non-Protestant candidates on their own ticket and vote for Protestant candidates on the opposing ticket? The results show that only 15 per cent of the transfers went to Republican Protestant candidates. A similar situation arose when the Republican Jewish candidate was eliminated. There was no other Republican Jewish candidate although there were four Republican non-Jewish candidates and one charter Jewish candidate. Only 14.5 per cent of the transfers went to the charter Jewish candidate. As compared with the proportion of transfers made from Protestant candidates on one ticket to Protestant candidates on the opposing ticket while there were still Protestant candidates on both tickets, this is about 5 or 6 per cent greater. In other words, it can be said that about 5 per cent of voters who supported a candidate of a given religion on a given ticket bolted that ticket when it no longer contained a candidate of the religion concerned and the opposing ticket did.

SUMMARY

The above analysis of the returns for the 1929 Cincinnati councilmanic elections throws considerable light upon the relative importance of certain factors in influencing the choices of the voters. The factor of labor or class consciousness had practically no effect upon the Cincinnati voters as far as material presented here shows. Nationalistic and religious influences were of relatively minor importance. Other things being equal, there was a tendency for the voters who gave their first choices to candidates of a given religious faith to give their second and other choices to the candidates of the same faith. However, when local party loyalty and loyalty to a religious group were pitted against each other the latter usually gave way. While the information regarding nationalistic influences was less complete, it is probable that this factor operates in a similar fashion.

Of considerable importance in the election was the factor of color. The white voters showed no tendency to support the Negro candidates and the Negro voters, on the other hand, showed a decided tendency to support the candidates of their own race. The rivalry between the Charter Committee and the organization Republican party was clearly the most important consideration with all but a few of the voters. The Charter group based its campaign upon the issue of civic responsibility vs. party responsibility, the achievements of the charter administration, the superiority of its candidates, and the corruption of the organization Republicans. The organization Republicans appealed to party loyalty, accused the Charter group of building up the Democratic party, and minimized the work of the Charter administration. These issues outweighed all other factors in the campaign.

RECENT BOOKS REVIEWED

History and Functions of the Municipal Court of Philadelphia. By Clarence G. Shenton. A report by the Bureau of Municipal Research of Philadelphia, published by the Thomas Skelton Harrison Foundation, 1930. Philadelphia Municipal Court Survey Series. 92 pp.

This pamphlet arrests interest on two counts. It introduces a series of monographs on the administration of a conspicuous social experiment, the Municipal Court in Philadelphia. It is in itself an example of beautifully clear exposition of a somewhat tangled growth of statutes and legal interpretation.

In 1925, the Thomas Skelton Harrison Foundation, "an agency created by the will of Thomas Skelton Harrison to promote good government in Philadelphia," acceded to the request of the Bureau of Municipal Research for funds to carry on studies requested by the then president judge of the court, Raymond MacNeille. The Bureau thereupon embarked upon an examination and appraisal of the services of the court, and combed the United States to find the most competent observers and analysts of the services to be reviewed. Some fifteen sections prepared by nearly as many experts have now been completed and are being published. This entire study will comprise one of the most substantial contributions to the literature of social-legal institutions that recent years have brought forth.

Although the Municipal Court of Philadelphia has now been in existence for sixteen years—a period long enough for it to have found and worked out most of the jurisdictional and other legal problems arising in the course of its work, and yet not so long that it could become encrusted with legal precedents—it is still in a state of uncertainty about its duties and powers in several important phases of its work. Its very name is deceptive. It is not a city court. It is a county court, which for practical purposes means that its administrators are not required to choose employees in accordance with civil service laws and need not buy through the city's central purchasing service. The situation is clear and well known, but curious. The whole question of fixing financial responsibility, owing to the use of mandamus powers by the judges, is unsettled. The lines of responsibility and authority over the various parts of the court organization are none too clear. The power of the Court to make orders on the county for the support of children in their own homes is subject to grave question and has been fitfully used over the years since 1914. This by no means completes the list of weaknesses and defects inhering in the legal foundations of this court.

This clear and concise statement admirably sets the stage for the reports which are to follow and serves in its own right to enlighten the community about the structural qualities of this court which has received so much of uninformed praise and blame.

Domestic Relations Division of the Municipal Court of Philadelphia. By Fred R. Johnson. A Report by the Bureau of Municipal Research of Philadelphia, published by the Thomas Skelton Harrison Foundation, 1930. Philadelphia Municipal Court Survey Series. 29 pp.

This third pamphlet of the series briefly sets forth the personnel, procedure and problems in the administration of the Domestic Relations Division of the Municipal Court. Fred R. Johnson, who prepared this report, is a former chief probation officer of the Detroit Recorders Court. Because of a lapse of four years between the field work and publication of this report, and to a change of administration in the court in the meantime, the manuscript was submitted to the present president judge for such comments as he cared to make. Some of these are printed in footnotes, and form some of the most illuminating data of the report on the conception of the court's staff regarding its functions.

Mr. Johnson's criticisms of the service of this institution grow out of a comparison of its somewhat stereotyped and legalistic procedure with what would be done if the court were equipped with personnel able to undertake a thorough service in aiding the unfortunate clients to see their domestic and personal problems clearly and to work out solutions promising stability and peace. Such service the judge characterizes as

"sociological" and beyond the powers of the court. His concept of both the court and the probation department seems to be limited to providing judicial determination on questions of support plus an employment service to get jobs for the court's clients. Since employment service is a function of other parts of the government, and since this court is the one unit empowered to deal with domestic difficulties of citizens, it would seem that this report is only suggesting a closer application of the public resources going into this court to the purposes outlined.

At one time or another the Municipal Court of Philadelphia has dabbled in almost every known kind of "welfare work" but in its Domestic Relations Division it has not yet buckled down to a real attack on the problems of domestic discord. If and when that is done, this service probably will of necessity be "sociological" in character.

NEVA R. DEARDORFF.

New York City.

COUNTY OF LOS ANGELES, REGIONAL PLAN OF HIGHWAYS. *Section 2-E, San Gabriel Valley.* Los Angeles: Regional Planning Commission, 1929.

Regional planning has taken on a very practical aspect in certain of the counties embracing or adjacent to large cities. In Los Angeles County, California, the Regional Planning Commission has followed up its general planning work by dividing the populated portion of the county (the north half being occupied by mountains and desert) into seven more or less arbitrary sections and has now prepared an authoritative highway plan for one of these, embracing an area of 278 square miles. This plan has been approved by each of the incorporated cities within the area and by the county board of supervisors as a general guide to all future construction.

Accompanying the highway plan are plans for zoning, industrial development, grade-crossing control, airports, and other studies. A final plan shows actual accomplishments to date in opening and initiating portions of the highway plan. It is noteworthy that, while a population of 750,000 in the San Gabriel Valley portion of Greater Los Angeles alone is anticipated by 1960, no express roads are provided by the plan, unless certain parkways can be so considered, and no major highways are planned to be more than one hundred feet in width. This is in marked contrast to the proposals for practically every other American metropolis.

ARTHUR C. COMEY.

REPORT OF THE COMMISSION TO SURVEY PUBLIC EDUCATION: State of New Jersey, 1930. (Authorized by the State Legislature, 1928.) 203 pp.

This is another attempt to survey the publicly supported educational activities of an entire state. The report has been eagerly awaited because of the interest in the development of education in one of the older states which has become highly industrialized.

The commission consisted of fifteen members: three members of the assembly appointed by the speaker, three of the senate appointed by the president, the president of the state board of education, the state commissioner of education, three members appointed by him from superintendents and school officials, and four lay citizens of the state.

For the technical work of the survey the commission secured the services of sixteen nationally known educators, experts in their respective fields. The personnel of this group guaranteed investigations of a high order of merit and conclusions and recommendations based on the facts and in accord with sound principles in the various phases of education covered.

The character of the report, which was apparently formulated by the commission itself, is indicated by the following statements taken from page 9:

> The creation of a state staff of men who have an intimate knowledge of the growth and development of our school system, who are familiar with the aims of state and local officials, who understand the conditions under which school work must be carried on and appreciate the limitations due to these conditioning influences, made possible a full understanding of New Jersey school conditions by the specialists and aided the commission in appraising their recommendations.
>
> The members of the commission participated actively in the survey, conferred with the specialists, studied their reports and used parts of them in formulating this report. . . .

The report summarizes many excellent suggestions relating to the improvement of the curriculum, of teaching methods, of classification of pupils, and of administration. Specifically, it recommends the abandonment of the dual system of school administration characteristic of New Jersey cities. The influence of the experts is apparent in these sections, though the report as a whole is sadly lacking in the proper presentation of facts to support the statements made.

In many other vital respects, however, the report is a complete surrender to forces operating in the state. On page 147 the commission states: "The school board should have freedom from the civil-political government," and then proceeds in the same sentence with these words, "and, so far as possible, be fiscally independent." In a subsequent section it recommends for all districts with a pupil enrollment of 5,000 or more, a board of education appointed by the mayor.

In the matter of state aid the report recognizes the need of equalization, but proceeds to recommend a plan of distributing state funds which will serve only to perpetuate the present inadequate state aid system of New Jersey. It then defends itself in the following words:

> Any method of apportionment adopted, in so far as practicable, should recognize existing methods of apportionment which are the result of many years of consistent effort on the part of legislators, educators, and citizens. . . . These efforts built into the existing organization of the system of free public schools may not be lightly set aside.

It is to be regretted that the citizens of the state of New Jersey whose money was appropriated for this survey could not have had the full benefit of "the thorough and unprejudiced study" of their public school system to act as they might see fit with reference to its findings and recommendations.

HARRY P. SMITH.

Syracuse, N. Y.

SPECIAL ASSESSMENT PROCEDURE. Special Report of the State Tax Commission, State of New York. By Arthur Rowland Burnstan, Ph.D. Albany, 1929. 272 pp.

The department of taxation and finance of New York State established in 1928 four fellowships at different universities for the purpose of securing contributions of a disinterested nature from mature research investigators on the various phases of tax administration. The present study—the work of Dr. Burnstan, who held the special fellowship in taxation at Columbia University—is the first of the series to be published and is "a critical study of the methods and practices employed in improvement finance in twenty-one New York cities."

The first part of the report is a comprehensive analysis of special assessment procedure. The method of the author is to deal with both the general and specific phases of the subject. The report is not a mere compilation and cataloguing of data by individual cities. The essential elements of special assessment procedure are segregated, and then the methods of the several cities are described and criticized under each step in the procedure. While the author emphasizes the practices of New York cities, he at the same time draws on the experiences of other cities, particularly when their methods are exemplary and suggestive of improved technique in special assessment administration.

The conclusions of the study are that the special assessment systems in the twenty-one largest New York cities do not operate equitably; that only New York City has followed for any extended period of time a definite and clearly understood plan for the initiation of local improvements; that provisions intended to protect the taxpayers should be simplified, so that proper public hearings and complete information to every property-owner will tend to reduce interference with improvement programs; and that more adequate preliminary surveys will insure smoother operation and more equitable administration. Because of the complexities that arise in determining benefit, the section of the law dealing with this phase of the procedure should be broad and should allow ample discretionary powers to the local officials entrusted with the determination of benefit. The all-important matters here are the selection of proper boundaries for the establishment of a special assessment district and the selection of a base for the measurement of benefit. The latter should be weighted according to the significance of contributing factors. Special assessment financing should be by bonds guaranteed by the city of issue and retired by special assessments levied because of the particular project against which these bonds were issued. Such bonds should not be included in the regular debt limit of the city.

The author relegates charter provisions, statutes, statistical table, maps, and examples to the appendices. These take up fully two-thirds of the report and are an exceedingly helpful collection of data on improvement financing. In addition to charter provisions and special assessment methods for the twenty-one New York cities, maps and data on assessment projects in Buffalo, St. Louis, San Francisco, and Seattle are included. A complete bibliography covering all available material on special assessments in the form of books, magazine articles, and reports accompanies the report.

MARTIN L. FAUST.

MUNICIPAL REPORTS

GLENDALE, CALIFORNIA. *Annual Report for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1929.* By J. W. Charleville, City Manager. 100 pp.

This report of the municipal activities of Glendale is an attractive publication. It is well written; a good quality of paper is used; and the size and character of the type make easy reading. The pictures, however, seem to have been chosen more because of their beauty than for their intrinsic value as supplemental to the text. The foreword of eight pages seems a bit long, and does not seem impressive mainly for the reason that the statements are too general, as for example: "The number of communicable disease cases is much below the average" and "traffic accidents have been kept low." One is left to wonder what "average" is meant and what "low" means. The departmental reports fail to clear up these questions for they too are very general and contain little if any comparative data.

The report could have been greatly reduced in length with good effect. The "Muncipal Directory," for instance, contains the names of all officials of the city, yet they are repeated in the departmental reports. Space could have been conserved also by bringing together all reports bearing on the finances of the city. For example, a statement of assets and liabilities appears on page 29; "high lights of the annual audit," which by the way is entirely devoid of any figures, appears on the next page; the treasurer's report on page 61; the comptroller's report on page 93; and a comparative statement on the cost of government occupies page 99. If the figures in this last statement had been presented in graphical form they would have been much easier to grasp; this suggestion would apply as well to several other sections of the report, particularly to that on the police court. While this report will hardly rank among the best of the year it does surpass a great many reports, or else its review would never have been given this space.

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WICHITA, KANSAS. *Annual Report for the Year 1929.* By Bert C. Wells, City Manager. 52 pp.

In many respects this report resembles the Glendale report reviewed above and for that reason several suggestions offered for improvement there are equally applicable here. The Glendale report, however, is superior in at least two respects: it contains both a table of contents and an organization chart. The need for an organization chart in the Wichita report is well illustrated by this statement appearing on page 7:

> At present the general tax rate for the City of Wichita is in the hands of eight boards: the State Tax Commission, the Board of County Commissioners, the Board of Education, the Board of Regents of our Municipal University, the Board of Park Commissioners, the Library Board, the Nursing Association Board, and the Board of City Commissioners.

Obviously a chart is the simplest way to introduce to the reader the interrelations of these different agencies and to assist him to a fuller appreciation of their implications. This report on the other hand is superior to the Glendale report in the character of its foreword and general summaries of accomplishments; the financial data also are much better handled. Moreover, we cannot overlook the fact that brevity is much more in evidence; this report contains but 52 pages as compared to Glendale's 102. Promptness in publication should also be emphasized. This report appeared three and one-half months after the expiration of the period covered, as compared to eight and one-half months for Glendale. Surely a municipal report loses much of its interest and value unless it is made available promptly.

CLARENCE E. RIDLEY.

REPORTS AND PAMPHLETS RECEIVED

EDITED BY WELLES A. GRAY

Assistant Director, Municipal Administration Service

Plans and Studies, Washington and Vicinity.—By the National Capital Park and Planning Commission. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1929. 60 pp. This is a collection of supplementary technical data which accompanied the annual report of the National Capital Park and Planning Commission. Illustrations showing old and new street plans of Washington and the White House, the Capitol and other public buildings in their various states of appearance from 1800 to the present time are given. There are large numbers of charts and graphs on land and its uses, city traffic rules, and regional planning. Statistical tables on the many aspects of the housing problem in Washington are included. (Apply to Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C.)

✻

Taxes of the State and Its Political Subdivisions, 1901–1928.—By the Wisconsin Tax Commission. Madison, June, 1929. 24 pp. The statistics given in this bulletin are prefaced by a brief discussion of the taxes now in force in Wisconsin. There are tables on all taxes of the state and its subdivisions from 1901 to 1928, tabulated according to uses, types of taxes, and taxing agencies. (Apply to Wisconsin Tax Commission, State House, Madison.)

✻

Opinions of the Attorney General Construing the Provisions of the New Gasoline Tax Law of the State of Texas.—By Rice M. Tilley. Austin, 1930. 55 pp. This bulletin is a complete compendium of information on the 1929 gasoline tax of Texas. The subject matter includes the text of the law, the supplementary rules and regulations promulgated by the comptroller, the various report blanks and other forms used in administering the law, and the interpretations by the attorney general of Texas. (Apply to Robert Lee Bobbitt, Attorney General, Austin.)

✻

Taxation Systems.—By the Research Division, Ohio Chamber of Commerce. Columbus, April, 1930. 18 pp. (Mimeographed.) In four states there are comprehensive systems of classifying property for taxation, now in use. This bulletin briefly summarizes the provisions of the law now in force in these states, Minnesota, Kentucky, Virginia, and Montana. (Apply to the Research Division, Ohio Chamber of Commerce, Columbus.)

✻

Taxes and Special Assessments in the Downtown Business District of Kansas City, 1909–1929.—By the Kansas City (Mo.) Public Service Institute. April, 1930. 32 pp. (Mimeographed.) In this study are given comparative data on taxes and special assessments in Kansas City's business section for the past twenty years. The study is a preliminary to a general investigation of special assessments throughout the city. Careful attention is paid to assessed values, tax rates and total levies, and the amounts of and methods of levying special assessments. (Apply to the Institute, Orear-Leslie Bldg., Kansas City, Mo.)

✻

The Bonded Debt of Local Units of Government as of May, 1930.—By the Civic Affairs Department, Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce. Indianapolis, May, 1930. 11 pp. (Mimeographed.) Here is a complete analysis of the borrowing capacity, the bonds outstanding, and the maturities of bond issues in all units of local government comprised within the limits of Indianapolis, including the civil city, the school city, the park district, the sanitation district, the county, and county unit road districts. All of these units are heavily bonded, and several proposed issues bring the debts dangerously close to the legal limit. In view of this condition, this study was made as an aid to well-coördinated financial planning. (Apply to Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce, 311 North Meridan Street, Indianapolis.)

✻

Brief on Special Assessment Laws and Procedures.—By the California Taxpayers' Association. Second Edition, Los Angeles, May, 1930. 58 pp. (Mimeographed.) Under present laws regulating special assessments in

California, it is possible for special assessment districts to overlap, with the result that assessments multiply, until, as has happened in certain cases, the total annual assessments may even exceed the assessed valuation of the property. This brief, which was submitted to a legislative commission on revision of the law of special assessments, points out the inequalities and inequities of the existing legislation, giving many specific examples. (Apply to the Association, 775 Subway Terminal Bldg., Los Angeles. Price, $1.)

*

Reports and Communications.—By the Finance Commission of the City of Boston. Boston, 1930. 155 pp. This is volume XXV of the various reports of studies made by the Finance Commission during 1929. It includes the annual report of the commission for that year. (Apply to the Commission, 24 School Street, Boston.)

*

Soundings in the General Property Tax System of Ohio.—By J. P. Watson. Columbus, the Ohio Institute, November, 1929. 70 pp. (Mimeographed.) These "soundings" are an analysis of the effects of the so-called "uniform rule" which has been followed in levying all types of taxes in Ohio, and present a complete picture of the general property tax in that state. The types of property subject to taxation, assessment and valuation methods, and the legal basis of the tax system are discussed fully, with relation to both the general and the special taxes levied. (Apply to the Ohio Institute, 277 East Long Street, Columbus.)

*

Budget Facts and Financial Statistics of the City of Minneapolis for 1930.—By the Board of Estimate and Taxation. Minneapolis, 1930. 48 pp. Here is an unusually well drawn picture of the finances of a good-sized city. In brief form are presented the major items in the budget and tax rates for the current year. The Minneapolitan who wants to know the proportion of his taxes spent for schools, the basis for his taxes, or how the tax collections compare with the levies, can find that information and more, in this booklet, without having to consult unwieldy volumes of budget figures, highly technical reports of financial officers, or other inconvenient and well-nigh incomprehensible sources. The data include a budget summary, assessed valuation figures, an analysis of tax rates and levies, comparative figures for several years on tax levies and tax collection, figures on the cost of government, and a statement of the bonded debt of the city. (Apply to George M. Link, secretary, Board of Estimate and Taxation, 343 City Hall, Minneapolis.)

*

Assessors' Manual, Cook County, Illinois.—Second Edition, Chicago, 1930. 89 pp. This manual gives not only the rules, classifications, etc., to be followed by the assessors who are making the revaluation of property in Cook County, but also a brief history of the reassessment program. (Apply to the Board of Assessors of Cook County, Chicago.)

*

Final Report of the California Tax Commission—Sacramento, 1929. 317 pp. This commission was appointed in 1927 to make a thorough investigation and survey of all features of the revenue and taxation system of California. The report is divided into four parts. In part one, following a general discussion of the principles which underlie various systems of taxation, there is presented a history of California's tax system, an examination of the system of special taxes on public utilities, and a discussion of proposals for a new system of taxes, including business taxes, a moneys and credits tax, and various miscellaneous revenue provisions. The second part of the report deals with the tax burden on public utilities as compared with that on common property. Part three discusses the taxation of banks, corporatefr anchises, securities, and credits; and part four is devoted to an analysis of the demand for a real estate tax offset against a franchise tax on banks and corporations. (Apply to the Commission, 703 Market Street, San Francisco.)

*

Report of the Tax Revision Commission of Utah.—Salt Lake City, 1929. 134 pp. This report deals with proposals to establish a special tax on intangible property in Utah. (Apply to the Commission, State House, Salt Lake City.)

PUBLIC UTILITIES

EDITED BY JOHN BAUER

Director, American Public Utilities Bureau

What Commissioners Think.—An unusually wide range of questions was discussed at the last meeting of the National Association of Railroad and Utility Commissioners at the forty-first annual convention held at Glacier National Park, Montana. A volume of proceedings and papers has just been published by the Association, and is available from the secretary, James B. Walker, 270 Madison Avenue, New York City. Three topics were of outstanding significance: (1) The effectiveness of state regulation; (2) the relation of state and federal control; and (3) the form of rates suitable to present conditions in the gas and electric industries.

On the first topic, there was an unusually frank expression of opinion among the assembled commissioners. According to a formal address by Carl D. Jackson, former president of the Association, and now counsel for the National Electric Light Association, there seems to be nothing particularly wrong with state regulation. Mr. Jackson grouped the allegations made against state regulation into five classes, then successively demolished each class, and convinced himself that everything is really "jake." This view of a most satisfactory system was not, however, shared by any present commissioner. While there was a wide spread in the degree of criticism, every commissioner or public official who participated in the discussion recognized vital defects which should be remedied in the interest of reasonable and effective regulation.

The legislative investigation of regulation in New York was brought into the discussion. The findings of the New York investigating commission fully support the criticisms voiced by many commissioners. The same topic will inevitably arise for even more intensive discussion at future meetings. The extremely unsatisfactory state of regulation can no longer be denied after the New York survey. There may be differences of opinion as to the proper remedy, but that there is a serious ailment is admitted by all doctors.

As to the second topic, there was almost uniformity of opinion—that there is grave danger of federal encroachment upon state regulation. Because of increasing interstate transmission of gas and electricity, and because of far-flung holding company organizations, the state commissions have great difficulty in struggling against interstate obstacles. The consensus of opinion was, however, that the situation could be worked out more satisfactorily if left to the state commissions than if federal regulation were established to cover these interstate relations. This, too, is a problem with which the commissioners will be compelled to grapple at future meetings. The scope of interstate relations is bound to increase. While perhaps, at present, federal regulation is premature, regulation cannot escape the pressure of facts. The present gap is bound to widen. The question is, can it finally be bridged in any other way than by federal regulation?

The third topic was the "service charge"—or a charge of similar character—included in gas and electric schedules. One of the technical papers was devoted particularly to the application of this form of rate to the electric industry. The discussion indicates that the commissioners have generally accepted the principle of the service charge, whether directly imposed, or garnished up in more palatable form. The writer feels on this subject that there has been for many years a steady propaganda by electric and gas companies to "sell" the service-charge idea to the Association. At many meetings, for years back, the formula developed by the American Gas Association has been pressed upon the commissioners, and, particularly, upon the rate committee. While there is a superficial reasonableness in the proposition, the claims for it have rested principally upon specious cost allocations. Unfortunately, it has never been considered from all sides by the Association, but has been accepted by many commissions, without adequate consideration of what is really involved.

The service charge is usually fixed at about a dollar per month per customer, and results in placing higher average rates upon the small than upon the large consumers. It should, of course, not be approved by any commission, unless it is really necessary in the establishment of an equitable schedule of rates. It would be

highly desirable if the Association were to appoint a special committee to investigate the subject scientifically. Such a committee would include, not only public utility engineers, but also economists and cost analysts, who would approach the subject as scientists, from a public standpoint, and who would have no financial interest at stake either for themselves or their employers.

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Complaint Against Low Municipal Rates.—We have never tied ourselves to the doctrine of municipal ownership and operation as a matter of faith, but we have had a notion that an efficiently operated municipal plant has distinct advantages over a private plant, and might thus be able to furnish service at lower cost to the public. We have been convinced, however, that the right of municipal ownership and operation should be granted without strangling financial restraints, to give the municipalities an opportunity to prove what they can do, to furnish a standard of rates for private companies, and to restrain them from piling up various excessive charges to be paid by the public. The constant threat of public ownership would be a mighty stimulant to the efficiency of private operation, and, conversely, the private plants would stimulate the efficiency of the public plants.

The assumption is commonly accepted that municipal operation is inefficient; and it is seldom possible to disprove or verify the assumption with satisfactory figures. Therefore, we welcome the opportunity to consider the special instance of Jamestown, N. Y., which has had a municipal plant since 1891, and which through that long period has competed with the Niagara, Lockport and Ontario Power Company. The reports of the Jamestown plant are unusually complete, and permit of fairly satisfactory analysis. The city has a population of about 50,000. At the close of 1929, the municipal plant had 10,459 customers, and had a generating capacity of 13,000 kw. It had an output of 25,238,500 kwh. during the year, and a coal consumption of 1,996 lbs. per kwh.

During the summer of 1928 the municipal plant announced a general reduction of about 10 per cent in rates, although its rate schedule was already on a much lower level than the average under New York state conditions. The following presents a comparison between the old and new rate on the basis of cents per kwh.:

Kwh. per month	*Old rate*	*New rate*
First 50	4.50 cents	4.00 cents
Next 50	3.60	3.25
" 900	2.70	2.50
" 10,000	3.25	2.00
" 20,000	1.80	1.60
" 50,000	1.35	1.20
All excess	1.10	1.00

A glance over the old rates shows that the level was extremely low and that the reduction gave the people of Jamestown a rate that is enjoyed in very few municipalities of the country. Both the new and old rates are subject to a monthly minimum charge—80 cents and 90 cents, respectively—for two kw. or less of service capacity, and 40 cents and 45 cents per kw. for all service capacity in excess of two kw. These are the rates for the bulk of the consumers. There are other classifications, which we shall not present, because they are designed to cover special conditions.

REVIEW BY THE COURT

Sixty days after the new rates were filed, the Niagara, Lockport & Ontario Power Company filed a complaint with the public service commission, charging the municipal plant had disregarded the requirements of the city charter that the rates shall be not less than cost at place of delivery; that many items of expense had been paid from the general tax levy; that nothing was paid to the city for the use of the plant; and that these conditions permit a rate which cannot be met without great financial loss to the complainant.

The commission dismissed the complaint on the ground that it has no power over municipal plants whose rates are fixed under charter provisions, and that its own power, in any case, was limited to the fixing of maximum rates; hence, it could not prevent the reduction in rates put into effect by the Jamestown plant. Following this determination, the company obtained a review by the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court. On March 27, 1930, the court decided that the commission had erred—that it has the power to examine into the rates fixed by the Jamestown municipal plant, and to determine whether the rates are lower than cost and illegal, also that it has a right to increase rates as well as to reduce them, if upon investigation it finds them to be illegal. The City of Jamestown had made the additional point that the company had no interest in the matter, but this contention was over-

ruled because the losses that might be sustained by the company through the municipal rates, if illegal, would be the subject of judicial inquiry.

The matter was remanded to the commission. The court itself did not attempt to decide whether the rates are lower than cost, but indicated the general principle to be followed in the determination of cost. The general rule applicable to public utilities, that a fair return on the fair value of the property must be allowed, does not apply to the municipal plant, except as construction was financed out of general city funds. If the property has been paid for from profits of operation, no return is required. If city employees or general municipal funds have been used for operating expenses, they should be included as cost of service. Allowance should be made for all operating expenses, covering labor and materials, including depreciation of the properties.

When the matter comes back to the commission, the question at issue will be whether the rates are below cost as generally defined by the court. This will probably require a detailed examination of the property accounts and operating expenses to determine to what extent, if any, general municipal funds, directly or indirectly, have been employed in the construction of the plant and in maintenance and operation. No final conclusion can be stated until the examination and analysis of costs have been made. The plant, however, has maintained an unusually complete system of accounts, and has made public comparative results of operation. A fair idea may be obtained by a brief survey of the published reports.

OPERATING RESULTS

Consider the results for the year 1929, when the new level of rates was in effect. The total operating revenues amounted to $557,572; operating expenses, including all labor and materials, also allowance for retirement expense, $349,343; net operating income, $208,229. To this is added miscellaneous interest revenue, $10,348, and deducted, $9,809 interest paid on electric bonds outstanding. The net surplus for the year thus amounts to $208,768—a very respectable margin—nearly equal to 38 per cent of the gross revenues! In view of the court decision that no return on the property is necessary, if construction funds have been provided out of profits, there appears little doubt but that the rates in 1929 have covered considerably more than the cost as required by the city charter.

There may be a question as to whether municipal employees, paid out of general city funds, have not been used for the purposes of the plant. The detailed statement of operating expenses, however, indicates that all labor and materials regularly used in the plant have been duly charged to operating expenses. It does appear that the level of administrative expenses was low compared with private companies. The total general and miscellaneous expenses, exclusive of retirement charges, amounted to only $20,627, covering all administrative and general office salaries and expenses, law, insurance, injuries and damages. This extremely low cost may be due in part to use of municipal employees not charged to operating expenses, but is probably due to the fact that no expensive executives are employed and that economies of coördination are effected as between electric plant and other departments of the city. The possibilities of such coördination and the keeping down of general overhead are distinct advantages of a municipal plant, and are factors to be considered in favor of municipal as against private operation.

Assume, however, that the charges for general and miscellaneous expenses have not made sufficient provisions for municipal officials and employees not engaged exclusively in the plant. Then the stated surplus of $208,768 must be considered also in the light of the fact that there was a charge of $141,975 for retirement expense to cover depreciation of property. This was not an actual expense, but an allowance to meet future retirements and replacements of plant and equipment. It represents over 7 per cent upon the gross book cost of the property, and is much greater than the average provisions made by private companies. There is doubt, indeed, whether such large provisions for depreciation are necessary.

But after the large allowance for depreciation in addition to actual operating costs as stated, and after the inclusion of all interest paid on the electric light bonds, the net surplus is still large enough to bring 10 per cent upon the gross book cost of all the properties, without deducting from the properties any past accrued depreciation of the amount of bonds outstanding. But if the depreciation reserve and the bonds outstanding are deducted from gross book costs, then the surplus for 1929 amounts to about 19 per cent upon the net book value—as will appear from the tabulations presented below. There is such a wide margin above what is ordinarily considered a

fair rate of return, that the conclusion is all but inescapable that the low rates of the municipal plant are considerably in excess of the actual cost of furnishing the service. Whatever contributions the municipality may have made without corresponding charges to the electric plant, the total could hardly wipe out the large margin of apparently excess earnings above actual cost.

FINANCIAL STANDING

It seems worth while also to consider briefly the rather striking features in the financial set-up and history of this particular municipal plant. The facts can be presented most clearly by means of a compact balance sheet, giving comparative figures for December 31, 1929, and December 31, 1926, and the changes that have taken place during the period of three years:

	1929	*1926*	*Increase or (D) Decrease*
Cost of plant	$1,989,220.67	$1,515,013.45	$474,207.22
Other assets	818,766.14	417,565.12	401,201.02
Total assets	$2,807,986.81	$1,932,578.57	$875,408.24
Current liabilities	$49,578.24	$43,285.82	$6,292.42
Electric bonds	176,000.00	218,000.00	D42,000.00
Reserves	754,659.76	459,660.47	294,999.29
Surplus	1,827,748.81	1,211,632.28	616,116.53
Total	$2,807,986.81	$1,932,578.57	$875,408.24

During this entire period the rates were extremely low compared with other cities of New York state or the country—the new rates for 1929 and the old rates for the preceding two years. Observe the financial situation at the close of 1929. Note, first, total plant cost $1,989,221, as against surplus $1,827,749. About 90 per cent of plant account came out of surplus—past earnings put back into property. The electric bond indebtedness was only $176,000, or less than 9 per cent of plant cost. In addition, however, the reserves amounted to $754,659.76, which are reflected in the total assets. There is, thus, this striking fact—that the total assets of $2,807,987 have come out of earnings, as shown either by reserves and surplus, with the exception of $176,000 electric bonds and $49,578 current liabilities. Approximately 92 per cent have come out of earnings, while only 6 per cent have come from electric bonds, and only 2 per cent from current liabilities. The consumers have already paid for the bulk of the plant and other assets, and, of course, as the court has indicated, do not need to pay a further return on the property. But the interest on the electric bonds outstanding has been regularly charged against plant revenues.

Consider now the change that has taken place only within the period of three years. There was a net increase in plant account of $474,207, also an increase of $401,201 in other assets; a total increase of $875,408 in total assets. But there was also a decrease of $42,000 in bonded indebtedness, against a small increase in current liabilities. The net addition was thus $911,116, which has come to the extent of $294,999 out of reserves and $616,117 out of surplus, or a total growth of $911,116 out of earnings in three years —all years of low rates.

It may be conceivable that a detailed investigation will show that electricity has been furnished below cost and that the requirement of the city charter has been violated. The above analysis, however, strongly indicates that no such finding can be made. It seems, indeed, that the municipal plant has made not only excess provisions for reserves, but has built up the great bulk of plant and other assets out of earnings. It is virtually inconceivable that sufficient other elements can have been contributed by the city to overcome this overwhelming showing that appears from the analysis of the published figures. If not, then present rates might reasonably be reduced still further, and the private company would have no recourse but to meet the lower rates.

We do not know of any instance in the state of New York where such a favorable financial showing has been made by any private plant.

GOVERNMENTAL RESEARCH ASSOCIATION NOTES

EDITED BY RUSSELL FORBES
Secretary

Recent Reports of Research Agencies.—The following reports have been received at the central library of the Association since May 1, 1930:

Finance Commission of the City of Boston:
Reports and Communications, vol. XXV.
California Taxpayers' Association:
Brief on Special Assessment Laws and Procedures (second edition).
Civic Affairs Department, Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce:
The Bonded Debt of Local Units of Government as of May, 1930.
Kansas City Public Service Institute:
Taxes and Special Assessments in the Downtown Business District of Kansas City, 1909–1929.
The Jackson County Sewer District Number 1.
Bureau of Municipal Research of Philadelphia:
Central Registration Bureau of the Municipal Court of Philadelphia.
St. Louis Bureau of Municipal Research:
Elective and Appointive Officials, Boards and Commissions, City of St. Louis (chart).

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Citizens' Research Institute of Canada.—The report on the administrative and financial survey of York Township has been completed. It dealt not only with the present administration and financial position but also with future status, whether annexation to Toronto or incorporation.

A financial and administrative survey of the municipality of Riverside has been completed.

An administrative survey of the city of Port Arthur has been completed and the institute has been engaged to coöperate in the reorganization of the assessment department and the making of the 1930 assessment under the new system.

The first (city) section of the 1930 *Red Book, Financial Statistics-Canadian Governments* will, it is expected, be published within the next few weeks. The complete *Red Book* contains financial information for all Canadian urban municipalities with a population of over 400, as well as the provincial and dominion governments The information contained in the *Red Book* is all taken from financial reports or information supplied by the responsible officer. The majority of the Canadian bond houses dealing in municipal bonds subscribe for this publication, as do the leading banks, insurance companies, and a great number of Canadian cities.

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Civic Affairs Department, Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce.—An analysis of the bonded indebtedness of all local units of government of Indianapolis has been prepared and issued by the civic affairs department of the Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce, as preliminary to the department's plan to bring about formulation of a long-term program of capital improvements.

The department, working with the Indiana Tax Survey Committee, created by special resolution of the 1929 general assembly, has submitted briefs on state income taxation and a proposed tax on consumption of electricity at hearings conducted by the committee. The brief on income taxation was prepared by Charles R. Metzger, co-author with Lionel D. Edie of a book on state income taxation. Mr. Metzger is also an assistant professor at Indiana University. The department has made for public distribution a summary of the matters presented at the hearings conducted by the committee. The committee expects to submit recommendations to the 1931 general assembly for changes in the Indiana tax structure intended to bring about better equalization of the tax burden by removing part of the burden from realty. A state income tax either as a substitute for all personalty tax or for the state tax on capital stock of corporations, various forms of sales taxes including a general sales tax and a tax on sales of luxuries, and special excise taxes have been discussed.

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National Institute of Public Administration.—The legislation recommended by the New York Commission on Old Age Security was passed

unanimously by both houses of the legislature and the bill has been signed by the governor. The Commission is continuing its research work and is beginning to receive returns on its study of the age factor in industry. The work is being done by a special staff under the direction of Luther Gulick, director of the Institute.

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Bureau of Municipal Research of Philadelphia.—The central registration bureau is the subject of a report prepared by the Bureau of Municipal Research as a part of its survey of the municipal courts of Philadelphia and now published by the Thomas Skelton Harrison Foundation, which has been financing the survey.

The juvenile, domestic relations, misdemeanants, and criminal divisions of the municipal court of Philadelphia engage in probation and social case work, in which information about individuals and families gathered by the court organization is of great importance. When a case comes into one of these divisions there is always the possibility that another division has been working with the person or family involved. If so, an interchange of information will probably result in a short cut in the investigation, and may lead to a better handling of the problem. To provide a clearing-house through which divisions of the court may be informed of the activities of other divisions with particular individuals, the court about ten years ago established its central registration bureau.

Among other things the report discusses the relation of the court's central registration bureau to the Social Service Exchange; the extent to which divisions of the court avail themselves of the service of the bureau; the filing methods in the name index, which contained over 183,000 cards in 1925; and the need for complete reorganization of the bureau's street index. A noteworthy feature of the report is an appendix giving a list of about 1,700 first names arranged according to their sources. The purpose is to aid in standardizations of sub-filing by first names.

The report was written by Arthur Dunham, secretary, child welfare division, Public Charities Association of Pennsylvania; formerly secretary, Philadelphia Social Service Exchange. Interested persons may obtain copies, free of charge, upon application to the Bureau of Municipal Research, 311 So. Juniper Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research.—Mayor Henry C. Fagal recently reappointed the capital budget commission after the council, by a unanimous resolution had requested him to take such action. The commission is now established as a permanent branch of the city government and consists of four city officials and three civilians. The city officials are the president of the common council, city comptroller, commissioner of public works and city engineer. Of the three civilians one is general auditor of the General Electric Company, another president of a realty company and the third the managing director of the Bureau of Municipal Research. The new commission is to be entrusted with the task of revising and keeping up to date the long-term program and advising the council on all bond issues. In view of the fact that the council has requested the reappointment of the commission, it appears that capital budgeting in Schenectady is assured of a permanent and orderly development. The Bureau regards this as the most important single improvement which has been effected in the government of the city.

After devoting more than a year to a comprehensive survey of the school facilities of the city, the Bureau is now ready to confer with educational authorities in regard to the tentative conclusions which have been formed on the basis of this study. The survey indicates that school facilities are ample at the present time and that no new structures will be needed for some years to come. In computing the supporting data, it was necessary to measure all space in every school in the city.

A new law just signed by Governor Roosevelt gives the city or private individuals opportunity to foreclose on tax liens and release large amounts of property now removed from the tax rolls, and will in large measure check tax delinquency. The Bureau made a study of the problem last year and has followed the matter through the legislature with great interest. The Bureau is working with an aldermanic committee in drafting laws to completely correct local procedure.

Station WGY has requested the New York State Conference of Mayors and the Bureau to collaborate next year in another series of radio talks on city government. As in this year's successful series, prominent city officials from all parts of the state will speak about their special fields of administration.

St. Louis Bureau of Municipal Research.—The Bureau has recently added two senior members and one junior member to its staff. H. C. Loeffler, who joined the staff in March, was formerly with the Citizens' Union and Bureau of Municipal Research of New York and was more recently in industrial and governmental research work with the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and the University of Colorado. J. Otis Garber came to the Bureau in May. Mr. Garber was former civic affairs secretary of the Toledo Chamber of Commerce, and prior to that a secretary of the Toledo Commission of Publicity and Efficiency and assistant professor of political science at the University of Toledo. William A. Lafferty, junior staff member, was graduated from Berea College in 1929 and has been with the Bureau since last September.

The Bureau is continuing its studies of street paving. All the maintenance data in the city records is being analyzed to determine the life and maintenance characteristics of the various types.

A special study of all collections of municipal revenues made by various public officials is now under way. The study will include both revenue turned over to the city and fees and commissions retained by certain officials in lieu of or in addition to their regular salaries, together with a study of the accounting procedure involved.

The Bureau has completed the collection and classification of the receipts and disbursements of all the governmental units in the city and county for the Metropolitan Development Committee. A proposed constitutional amendment has just been made public by Prof. Thomas H. Reed, which would permit the adoption of a charter for a metropolitan government to function in the entire city and county area. The constitutional amendment will be voted on at the general election in November.

Considerable interest has been manifested in a recent move by the board of aldermen to eliminate the city's personnel department by refusing to appropriate salaries for the current year. A bulletin on the subject was recently issued by the Bureau.

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Toronto Bureau of Municipal Research.—The Bureau has moved to new quarters at 137 Wellington Street, West.

The 1930 edition of *Toronto at a Glance* has been completed and published. This booklet deals in brief with all phases of Toronto's business and community life and is distributed by the Bureau at a price which is as near cost as possible.

White Paper No. 153 entitled "Can the Organization of the Municipal Government of Toronto be improved?" has been issued and was widely commented on in the press.

Following the nomination by the board of control of Toronto transportation commissioners and the refusal of council to accept the nominees, an open letter dealing with the subject was prepared and issued. It was given extensive notice in Toronto daily papers.

Toronto's city budget for 1930 has been analyzed and two reports thereon will be issued shortly.

NOTES AND EVENTS

EDITED BY H. W. DODDS

A Correction.—Buffalo friends have called our attention to an error in the article by Mabel L. Walker in the May issue on "Budget-Making in Seven Cities." The statement was made therein that the mayor has power to veto any item in the appropriation bill passed by the council. In reality the mayor's veto power extends only to additions made by the council, each one of which must be stated separately and must refer to a single object. Reductions made by the council are not subject to the mayor's veto. Executive veto of additions may be overruled by a two-thirds vote of the council.

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Secretary of N. M. L. Recommends Central Purchasing for Newark.—Following a survey made at the request of the city commission, Russell Forbes, secretary of the National Municipal League and an authority on governmental purchasing, has recommended that Newark establish a central purchasing agency. He suggests that arrangements be made, if possible, with the county and the school district by which all purchases would be pooled under a single authority. The estimated saving for the city of Newark alone would be in the neighborhood of $300,000 a year, or 15 per cent of the annual supply expenditure. Mr. Forbes recognizes certain difficulties which commission government raises with respect to centralized purchasing which are avoided in the city manager and strong-mayor plans, but believes that they may be surmounted if the members of the commission will agree to consolidate their purchases in one office.

Mr. Forbes' report was published in full in the Newark newspapers.

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Tammany Again at the Till.—New York has become so accustomed to the "gold rushes" of the Tammany prospectors that the latest, though the biggest, occasioned little clamor. For some time it has been the practice to include in the annual budget a million or more for the increase of salaries of underpaid clerks. This is hard to object to, for there are, in fact, many such. Six or eight months after, the director of budget, a veteran Tammany leader, brings forth the list.

Inevitably it transpired that a hundred or more department heads received increases of several thousand dollars apiece, while the poor clerks received their few hundreds.

The latest incident was somewhat different. The preliminaries were shrouded in complete secrecy. The whole matter was skipped through in the board of estimate without the reporters present so much as guessing what was happening. Hours afterward it was learned that some two hundred commissioners and judges had been singled out for sizeable salary boosts, which will add half a million to the annual city budget. Conceding that the new salaries are hardly too high if the right men are to be attracted to these positions, such a view has nothing to do with the case. The beneficiaries of the latest raid upon the city treasury are, to a man, Tammany chieftain.s The city is not seeking to attract or hold better men in these places. Tammany attends to all that.

On the same day the board of estimate voted to spend over $200,000,000 for public improvements, in addition to our $600,000,000 budget. What a day! JOSEPH MCGOLDRICK.

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Question of Constitutional Convention before Indiana Voters.—The Constitutional Convention League of Indiana is working to secure a favorable vote at the election in November on the question of holding a constitutional convention in 1931. Former Governor James P. Goodrich, in launching the campaign, advocated the short ballot, the appointment rather than the election of judges, and the item veto of appropriation bills. Other proposals are the appointment rather than the election of the superintendent of public instruction, and home rule for cities. The word city does not appear in the Indiana constitution. Municipalities are now governed largely by special legislation. The act under which Indianapolis is governed has been amended three hundred and fifty times. A home-rule provision would end "the biennial march of the mayors of Indiana" to the legislature.

In 1917 a referendum on a constitutional convention was defeated largely through the opposition of the farmers. The provision which re-

quires a uniform property tax is now seen to bear most heavily upon farmers and they are said to be the chief proponents of a convention in order that other types of taxes, such as an income tax, may be levied.

⚜

Oregon to Vote on a Cabinet Form of Government.—The Thirty-fifth Legislative Assembly of Oregon submitted to the voters a constitutional amendment providing for a cabinet form of government. This amendment will be on the ballot for approval or rejection on November 4, 1930. The amendment provides that on and after the first day of July, 1931, all executive and administrative offices, boards and commissions of the state, except the offices of governor, secretary of state and state treasurer, shall be abolished and all their powers, duties, property, equipment, records and obligations shall be transferred to the departments created by the amendment, in such manner as shall be determined by law. Each department, except that of education, will be in charge of an officer known as a director. The governor will be director of the department of state police and military affairs. The department of education will be in charge of a board of nine directors to be known as the state board of education. The directors will be appointed by the governor with the consent of the senate. The secretary and treasurer of state will continue to exercise the powers and duties prescribed in Article VI of the constitution. Under the amendment the executive and administrative functions of the state government will be performed by the governor with the assistance of the following nine departments:

(1) The department of agriculture;
(2) The department of labor and industry;
(3) The department of financial administration;
(4) The department of commerce;
(5) The department of education;
(6) The department of public works and domain;
(7) The department of health and public welfare;
(8) The department of state police and military affairs;
(9) The department of legal affairs.

In short, it is the purpose of this amendment to provide by constitutional amendment a cabinet form of government for the exercise of the executive and administrative functions of the state, all of the activities of the state being grouped under one or the other of the nine departments. It is contemplated that the existing State Board of Higher Education created by the Thirty-fifth Legislative Assembly shall be retained as one department under the cabinet form and all of the administrative functions of the state having to do with educational matters will be transferred to that department.

HOMER D. ANGELL, in *Old Oregon*.

⚜

St. Louis Evolves Plan for Financing Street Improvements.—Our readers will recall that in 1923 the voters of St. Louis approved a gigantic bond issue to provide for a number of highly important civic improvements in line with the city plan. Street openings and widenings played a conspicuous part in the plan, but progress has been delayed by the inability of the city to provide money for the payment in advance of damages awarded to owners of property condemned. Part of the costs of street widening and similar improvements is paid by the city and part by adjacent property-holders whose property is specifically benefited. Under the law, however, the city is required to pay into court the total amount of costs of property condemned before it can take possession and proceed with the improvement. This means that the city must find the money for financing the entire project before work is begun, collecting the benefit assessments afterwards as it can. Experience has shown that although the unpaid assessments bear interest at 6 per cent, many are not paid at once and some are delayed for several years.

Since the city has not been able to provide, in the first instance, the whole capital for these projects, the work has been delayed. In June, however, a scheme by which the needed improvements can be financed was worked out by the city administration, and at this writing awaits the approval of the board of aldermen. An agreement has been made with a firm of St. Louis bankers whereby benefit assessment bills to the amount of $22,000,000 will be purchased by a specially organized finance corporation at 95 cents on the dollar. This will put the city in immediate possession of the capital necessary to proceed with the delayed projects. The 5 per cent discount represents the cost to the taxpayers of this method of financing improvements through

notes which are not general obligations of the city but which are merely assessments against the property benefited. In general, so-called special assessment notes or bonds are expensive and undesirable. In this case, however, St. Louis will be enabled to proceed at a moderate extra cost without pledging the city's security. It appears to be its only course under the law and the city perhaps is fortunate in persuading the bankers to take the special assessment paper at no greater discount.

✻

Attempt to Revive Ohio Municipal League.—Ohio has had no vigorous municipal league organization since the adoption of home rule in 1912, in which the Ohio Municipal League played an important part. On June 20 a meeting of the mayors of all Ohio cities was held, at which an attempt was made to revive the organization. The meeting was held under the auspices of the University and particularly the political science department. The support of the mayors of Cleveland, Cincinnati, Columbus, Toledo and Dayton has been assured. The program of the meeting included Walter J. Shepard, Dean of the College of Liberal Arts, Martin S. Dodd, city solicitor of Toledo and former floor leader in the Ohio house of representatives, and Harvey Walker of the university political science department. The adoption last November of a tax limitation amendment to the Ohio constitution makes municipal coöperation very important to safeguard revenues when new tax laws are enacted by the next general assembly.

HARVEY WALKER.
Ohio State University.

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Schenectady's Capital Budget.—On June 20, 1928, Mayor Henry C. Fagal appointed a capital budget commission, composed of private citizens and city officials, to plan in advance the construction and financing of the public improvements which appeared to be most urgently needed in the city of Schenectady during the next ten years.

The commission was composed of men who were well qualified to study municipal finance. It held more than 30 meetings and devoted about nine months to its study of capital budgeting. The detailed work in the project was performed by the staff of the Bureau of Municipal Research.

The purpose of this non-political body appointed by Mayor Fagal was to decide on the basis of facts presented:

1. Which of all public improvements suggested were most essential to the welfare of Schenectady and its citizens.
2. How many of these could be made during each of the next ten years without causing an appreciable increase in taxes.

Preliminary reports dealing with all phases of long-term financial planning were prepared by the Bureau of Research for the consideration of the commission under the heads of:

1. Introduction to a Long-Term Financial Program for Schenectady.
2. Study of Schenectady's Population.
3. Schenectady's Physical Expansion.
4. Departmental and Miscellaneous Revenues.
5. Bonded Debt.

These preliminary reports presented the material for discussion, and after discussion and revision by the commission they were placed in the final report on a "Long-Term Financial Program for Schenectady."

The Schenectady Long-Term Financial Program has won praise from governmental experts everywhere. Several hundred interested city officials and citizens have written to Schenectady for copies of the report.

Recently Mayor Fagal reappointed the commission as a permanent body after a resolution requesting such action had been passed by the council. Two changes have been made in the personnel of the body. Hugh R. McPartlon, president of the Common Council, succeeds the late James A. Horne, former council president and chairman of the commission, and Albert H. Hall, managing director of the Bureau of Municipal Research, takes the place of Joseph F. Base, former director of the Bureau and secretary of the commission. At its organization meeting, the commission selected the president of the common council as chairman, the city engineer as vice-chairman, and the director of the Bureau of Municipal Research as secretary. The functions of the newly constituted commission will be to revise and keep the program up to date *and to advise the council on all bond issues.*

At a recent public meeting held by the Bureau of Municipal Research, the mayor and council leaders pledged themselves to be guided by the 10-year budget plan in all future city operations. The Bureau has sought in every way to properly educate citizens in this new phase of municipal finance and as a result, there has been a wide public discussion of the benefits of fiscal planning.

With a permanent Capital Budget Commission and with the loyal support of interested citizens, the prospects appear bright for the orderly development of Schenectady.

ALBERT H. HALL, *Managing Director.*
Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research, Inc.

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Progress Report of National Committee on Municipal Standards.—The National Committee on Municipal Standards was organized in May, 1928, and began its work of developing standards for measuring and reporting municipal activities. This committee is composed of members representing the National Municipal League, the Governmental Research Association, International City Managers' Association, and the American Municipal Association. Progress at first was slow due to lack of funds and permanent staff, but through the courtesy of the National Institute of Public Administration, Clarence E. Ridley, secretary to the committee, who was then on the Institute's staff, was able to devote sufficient time to the work as to prepare a tentative report on "Units of Measurement for Street Cleaning, Refuse Removal and Disposal."

In view of the excellent reception accorded this report and the general program of the committee, the Julius Rosenwald Fund and the Local Community Research Fund of the University of Chicago made appropriations late in 1929 for a three-year period to extend the work already begun. In the meantime, Mr. Ridley had become executive-secretary of the International City Managers' Association and a member of the political science department of the University of Chicago, but still retained the secretaryship of the committee. In January, 1930, Donald C. Stone, assistant director of the Committee on Uniform Crime Records of the International Association of Chiefs of Police, was employed as full-time director of the work. With the addition of secretarial services, the work is now progressing very satisfactorily.

During the first three months of this year, the director of the National Committee on Municipal Standards aided Bruce Smith, director of the Citizens' Police Committee of Chicago, in drafting a reorganization plan for the Chicago police department and in the installation of a revised records and communication system. The new records and communications are not only making it possible for Chicago to become an accurate reporting unit in the nation-wide system of uniform crime reporting devised by the Committee on Uniform Crime Records of the International Association of Chiefs of Police, but also provide the administrative officials with information necessary for effective planning and control of police operations. For these services our director was reimbursed by the National Institute of Public Administration which was conducting the survey for the Citizens' Police Committee.

Most encouraging progress has been made in the work of developing uniform units of measurement and cost accounting for street sanitation. Through extensive correspondence and several trips into the field, many suggestions and criticisms have been gained regarding the tentative draft on "Units of Measurement for Street Cleaning, Refuse Removal and Disposal." This tentative report must be thoroughly revised and incorporated into a manual with complete instructions and forms for computing quantities and costs of sanitation work together with the means by which these computations can be converted into daily, monthly, and annual reports.

In connection with the above we have recently held two meetings of officials of the International Association of Street Sanitation Officials. The latter meeting on May 9 consisted of the entire committee of their association appointed to coöperate with us, together with their president, secretary, and treasurer. The officials not only agreed to full coöperation but adopted the formal name "Committee on Uniform Street Sanitation Records" under which all our work in street sanitation will be carried on in the future. This actually attaches the project directly to the street sanitation officials themselves, with the staff of the National Committee on Municipal Standards becoming the technical staff of this committee. Without being unduly optimistic, we can look forward to as constructive results in this field as were obtained through the police chiefs in the field of crime reporting.

At this same meeting the committee took the first step in realizing this purpose by adopting standard units of measurement for street cleaning, refuse removal, refuse disposal, catch basin cleaning, and snow removal. The classes of expenditure to be included in computing costs for these units were also determined. As a means for better reporting to the public, it was further decided to publish a guide for preparing annual street sanitation reports employing the approved standard units of measurement.

The proposed program of work for the National Committee on Municipal Standards is as follows:

1. Preparation and wide distribution of a program of action for the Committee on Uniform Street Sanitation Records. This will tell of accomplishments to date and invite suggestion from all interested groups.
2. Publication of a guide for preparing annual street sanitation reports.
3. Revision of the tentative draft of "Units of Measurement for Street Cleaning, Refuse Removal and Disposal" in the form of a complete manual, this manual to include all necessary instructions and forms for computing quantities of work and costs.
4. Continuing our collaboration with the Committee on Uniform Crime Records in the extension and improvement of uniform crime reporting and then setting up certain standards for police work on the basis of this system.
5. Obtaining the coöperation of other organized groups of city officials, such as the International Association of Fire Chiefs and the American Road Builders' Association to the end of developing standards in their respective fields. Our present arrangement with the International Association of Street Sanitation Officials is an example of how such relations can be established.
6. Encouraging the nation-wide adoption of standard units of measurement and reporting, keeping in touch with the results of their actual operation, and revising such units in the light of experience.

In view of the committee's attempt to establish standards which may affect the administration of all cities in the country, it is exceedingly important that we proceed advisedly and with care. In its very nature the undertaking must be a joint one, deriving the benefits of joint experience. We are, therefore, asking that you keep this work in mind and give us the benefit of your suggestions and criticism not only with respect to this progress report but to our technical reports as well. Such communications should be addressed to the director.

COL. H. M. WAITE, *Chairman.*
CLARENCE E. RIDLEY, *Secretary.*
DONALD C. STONE, *Director.*

*

The Housing Association of the City of New York has been formed by a committee of citizens to fill a widely felt need for a well-knit organization which can combine the functions of survey, propaganda, law enforcement and financing of low-cost housing. It will

1. Make new studies and correlate existing data as to conditions that affect housing.
2. Print and disseminate information, and hold and address meetings, for the purpose of interesting and informing owners, builders, tenants, and others, as to needs, possibilities and methods of housing betterment.
3. Coöperate with the activities of governmental agencies—legislative and administrative, state and local—concerned with housing in the metropolitan area.
4. Coöperate with other organizations, corporations and individuals, interested in housing, real estate development, city and regional planning, parks, playgrounds, schools and transit, in so far as their programs or activities touch upon the improvement of housing conditions.
5. Advocate legislation to establish and, from time to time, raise housing standards, and to prevent the creation of new slums.

The immediate objectives for the carrying out of this program are to

1. Promote enforcement of, and study the need of improvement in laws and ordinances relating to housing, and coördinate existing activities toward that end.
2. Stimulate the rehabilitation of blighted districts, and of unsafe and unsanitary housing, by reconditioning or by slum clearance and new construction.
3. Evaluate the accomplishments of low-cost housing enterprises since the War, in New York and elsewhere, and make available for future builders the results of such experience.

The major objective to be developed in the future after the completion of the preliminary work outlined above is the creation of a Housing Foundation. This is to be an altogether new type of agency in this work. The foundation will have such a financial structure that it will be able to loan or invest funds in well planned, low-cost housing enterprises either for the construction of new housing or for the renovation and improvement of existing housing and aid experimental demonstrations of low-cost housing possibilities.

The foundation will also assist organizations of coöperators seeking to create their own coöperative housing developments.

It will help to support research organizations contributing toward the advancement and application of technical knowledge with respect to site planning and housing construction.

The officers of the association comprise a distinguished list of names. Alfred E. Smith is president. R. Fulton Cutting and Dr. Felix Adler are honorary vice presidents. Alexander M. Bing, Frederic A. Delano, Mrs. Ruth Pratt, and Mrs. V. G. Simkhovitch are vice presidents.

In a statement to the press Former Governor Smith said:

While New York City is modernizing itself in every direction with new subways, new bridges, new highways, wider streets, new skyscrapers with every modern equipment, just around the corner the old-law tenements with their dark rooms and unwholesome, dangerous construction are still standing. Least progress has been made in low-cost housing. It is surprising that a city which has gone so far in following new lines in every other endeavor should have permitted itself to go on growing without thought as to how to keep its population properly housed at costs which meet low incomes and within reasonable distance of work. Thousands of families are still living in old-law tenements declared unfit for occupation forty years ago, and bringing up children in them. Manhattan, especially, is suffering and will continue to suffer from the loss of this element of the people who are moving to parts of the city where they can get living quarters in keeping with their incomes, but at great distances from their work. Unless the tide is stemmed now and a resolute effort made to apply to the need for low-cost housing the brains and ability that have progressed other industries, we will soon have no working population on Manhattan Island.

We give billions every year for philanthropic purposes. Huge foundations are being established for everything under the sun except housing. We spend hundreds of thousands of dollars to study crime and delinquency and disease and do nothing to remove what has been pointed out over and over again as the fundamental cause, bad housing. We have foundations for orphanages and schools and colleges and do nothing to provide wholesome homes from which the students are to come.

It is my hope that when the preliminary studies of this association have been completed and the facts are laid before the citizens of New York they will take the necessary steps to put housing on a substantial basis by the establishment of a well considered housing foundation empowered to invest in such a program.

*

Chicago Votes on Traction Ordinance.—We go to press too early to report the result of the referendum in Chicago on July 1 on the proposed traction ordinance passed by the city council on May 19. The election is the culmination of months of discussion and controversy regarding a practicable solution of Chicago's transit difficulties and irrespective of the popular verdict (which will be announced in our August issue). A description of it is of importance to our readers.[1] The ordinance is based on enabling legislation adopted by the Illinois general assembly in 1929.

The ordinance provides:

A unified local transportation system to consist of the surface lines and rapid transit system.

Terminal grant.—The city has the right to purchase the properties of the system upon six months' notice.

Extensions and improvements costing $200,000,000 within ten years, $65,000,000 of which are to be put in within the first three years.

Subways.—The city is to construct two subways through the central business district. The cost of construction will be financed by the present transit fund and by special assessments.

Rates of fare will remain the same as now "until changed by the local transit commission." Free transfers are provided between elevated (with a 10-cent fare) and surface lines (7-cent fare); and a 3-cent charge for transfer from surface to elevated lines.

Maintenance.—A fund of 7 per cent of the gross receipts is set aside for renewal, depreciation and obsolescence; also 2½ per cent of the gross receipts as a damage reserve fund.

City's compensation.—As compensation for use of public property the city receives 3 per cent of the annual gross receipts.

Pensions.—The company must establish a pension system, also reasonable life and health insurance for employees.

Value of properties.—The ordinance places the value of $260,442,063.82 on the properties of both surface and elevated lines as of August 31, 1929. To this amount will be added any additions to capital value between that date and the effective date of the ordinance.

Return to the company.—A just and reasonable return to be fixed by the local transit commission.

Transit commission.—A city transit commission of three members is provided. It is to be appointed by the mayor with the approval of the council and will have jurisdiction over all local transportation facilities and service within Chicago and for an area within thirty miles from the city's boundary and will exercise the same powers now possessed by the Illinois Commerce Commission.

Following is a résumé of arguments which are being put forth for and against the ordinance:

ARGUMENTS FOR THE ORDINANCE

Business interests in both the central business district and the outlying districts champion the adoption of the ordinance as a means of stimulating the city's continued growth and develop-

[1] For a vivid picture of the Chicago situation see Paul H. Douglas, *Chicago's Persistent Traction Problem*, National Municipal Review, November, 1929.

ment. The measure will assure the long-needed subways and will also obtain for the outlying districts extensive and increased rapid transit facilities which are, in fact, sorely needed. The 1907 traction ordinances having expired three years ago, no new money can be raised for extensions and improvements to service. Hence unless this ordinance is accepted, chaos will result.

ARGUMENTS AGAINST THE ORDINANCE

The terminable grant is, in fact, interminable or perpetual, for the purchase price, plus capital additions, would aggregate a sum which would exceed the city's bonding power, and also would be so large as to be practically prohibitive.

The purchase price is alleged to contain $50,000,000 of "water."

There is no assurance that rates will not be raised. (The transit commission has authority to do so.) Estimates of "reasonable return" on the capital value (8 per cent as set by United States Supreme Court decisions) indicate that the combined system must earn $4,000,000 more than the companies now earn separately to assure such return.

The present $60,000,000 traction fund, which the city has been collecting over a period of twenty years, by being used to build the subway system, is wiped out for the benefit of the traction and "loop" interests. The fund was originally provided to enable the city to acquire the surface lines. It was built up by annual payments of 55 per cent of the surface lines' net earnings.

The ordinance contains no effective guarantees that the promised extensions and improvements will be constructed.

The enabling legislation setting up the transit commission is unconstitutional in that, without referendum approval, it gives the mayor and city council of Chicago authority over cities and towns within the thirty-mile radius outside Chicago over which the commission will have jurisdiction.

The ordinance omits safeguards of the public interests. It is pointed out as significant that throughout the negotiations for the enabling legislation and the proposed ordinance, all proposals looking to such safeguard of the public interest, by incorporating into the respective drafts qualifying phrases, were consistently disregarded.

Arguments that the ordinance through the transit bill provides "home rule" for Chicago are specious; also that adoption of the ordinance will mean prompt work for labor is false, since the company has 120 days to accept the ordinance after it is approved by the people.

PROSPECTS OF SUCCESS

The probability of a light vote and the backing of the city hall machine, together with the vigorous progaganda of the interests involved, appear to give the ordinance good prospects of adoption. But despite the lack of outstanding leadership, the opposition is steadily arousing sentiment against the measure. From the standpoint of the relative number of organized groups working for and against it, the ordinance should pass. It is a question, however, how far these groups, dominated by small groups of individuals, represent actual voting strength.

*

Training School for Civil Service Officials.—In April New York State tried the interesting experiment of a two-day training school for municipal civil service commissioners and secretaries. It was held at the city hall, Albany, under the auspices of the New York State Conference of Mayors and Other Officials and the New York State Civil Service Commission. The instruction took the form of lectures followed by general discussion and questions. The sessions were well attended, particularly by representatives of smaller municipalities whose staffs are very limited in size and who are particularly in need of information regarding up-to-date methods of civil service administration.

DAYTON'S SIXTEEN YEARS OF CITY MANAGER GOVERNMENT

AN APPRAISAL OF A PIONEER VENTURE

By

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and

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Dayton was the first prominent city to adopt the manager plan, and the results of her venture have been critically observed by cities all over the world. Her sixteen years' experience is a fair indication of what is possible under the manager plan if the citizens are alert to the opportunity it affords.

The authors of this appraisal are trained municipal researchers who have been intimately associated with Dayton's municipal government since the organization of the Dayton Municipal Research Bureau in 1912.

DAYTON'S SIXTEEN YEARS OF CITY MANAGER GOVERNMENT

SIXTEEN years of efficient, economical city government, sixteen years during which the governed were given primary consideration—that is Dayton's record, perhaps an all-American one. Dayton is thankful for these sixteen years and hopeful for its continuance. Hopeful, because one never knows what the day may bring forth in public affairs. For sixteen years, or to be exact, since January 1, 1914, Dayton has been operating under the commission-manager plan, a pioneer in this form of government in the United States. Have the manager plan and good government in Dayton been cause and effect or merely coincidence?

If it is a coincidence it is a very remarkable one, because prior to January 1, 1914, Dayton did not have sixteen consecutive months of the quality of government it has enjoyed since that date. Nevertheless, it is fair to ask to what extent the form of government has been a cause. In the following pages an attempt will be made to tell the story of Dayton's experience immediately before and since it adopted this plan. Perhaps the recital will help appraise the relative value of the form of government, the personnel and the imponderables and the parts played by these factors during the sixteen years.

The periods before and immediately after birth are critical ones in a child's life and the care given it during these days has much to do with its survival and future well-being. It may be that something was done during these periods of commission-manager operation in Dayton which contributed to the healthful condition of Dayton's government for these sixteen years.

GOVERNMENT BY DEFICIT PRIOR TO 1914

Prior to January 1, 1914, Dayton's government was not particularly worse than that of many other cities; perhaps not so bad as that of some. But it had been inefficient; it had been concerned more with serving the "faithful" than with serving those for whom the government was really created. Politics had a ringside seat; it dictated when the bell was to be rung and had a voice in the decisions. Issuing long-term bonds to pay for services rightly chargeable to current operating funds or issuing them for terms extending beyond the life of the improvement is a sample of the type of financing done. The tabulation on page 498 will illustrate.

There was practically no health service, with the result that epidemics necessitated the closing of schools for weeks at a time; no collection of rubbish; streets that required extreme discrimination in selecting driving routes about the city; laying off of firemen and policemen because of lack of funds; only 35 acres of parks for a city of 130,000 people; and not a playground operated by the city government. These are a few obvious manifestations of nineteenth-century city administration carried over into the twentieth century. Perhaps this was no worse a picture than most cities presented then, but it was bad enough for an alert minority of the public—a very small minority, it is true—weary of such municipal housekeeping to want a change and to make others conscious of a need for improvement. This group was weary of a government

LONG-TERM BONDS OUTSTANDING ISSUED TO MEET OPERATING CHARGES

Amount outstanding Jan. 1, 1914	*Purpose*	*Year of issue*	*Year of last payment*	*Estimated life of improvement*
$108,000	Unpaid bills and payrolls	1909	1924	None
25,000	Street lighting	1911	1940	None
30,000	Street lighting	1911	1925	None
50,000	Street repairs	1911	1935	5 years
13,000	Street repairs	1905	1925	5 years
100,000	Paving	1894	1916	10–15 years
175,000	Paving	1893	1919	10–15 years
15,000	Cleaning sewers	1908	1926	None
25,000	Reissue street paving (should have been paid at maturity, 1911)	1894	1927	10–15 years

carrying on without effective budgeting, which for six successive years had had a deficit of $60,000 a year in operating expenses.

It is true that money was not too plentiful, and that the limit imposed by the tax laws provided, as it still does, an insufficient amount of money with which political subdivisions could operate satisfactorily. No administration should be criticized because it is unable to do things on account of lack of money, but governmental administration does merit criticism when it makes no attempt to procure the most for the money that is available. It merits criticism when policies are decided and methods are adopted upon the basis of political expediency rather than upon the basis of the community's welfare. Could economies be effected or methods employed that would give more adequate service? If such questions were asked or were in the minds of the various administrations, it was not evident from the action usually taken. For example, so effective, simple and proven a practice as central purchasing, for some reason, was never tried although the city apparently did not have enough money for such necessary services as adequate police and health protection. There simply were too many complications under the old form of government with its weather eye on party expediency.

Up to 1914 Dayton had been operating under the federal plan of city government. The mayor, auditor, treasurer, solicitor, and fifteen councilmen constituted the list of elected officials and were chosen on partisan tickets. One councilman was elected from each of the twelve wards, and three were elected to represent the city at large. It was the usual partisan political government with the local unit considered merely a subdivision of the national party organization, and as such, its primary reason for existence seemed to be the furnishing of jobs to the "key men" of the political party so that the organization might thereby be strengthened. The victorious party at the polls emptied the offices of those who held jobs because of political performance, only to fill them with its own faithful. Qualifications for offices and positions were naturally of secondary consideration.

The mayor, as executive, was presumably responsible for the actual operation of the city service, but all he had under his jurisdiction were the two main departments—public service and public safety. The health department, such as it was, operated under a board appointed by the mayor. The

legal department and the finance department were each under separately elected officials. When the executive and the majority of the council were of opposing political faiths the community paid the penalty. The appellation "government by deficit" characterized the kind of administration Dayton had.

It would be untrue to imply that the people of Dayton as a whole were acutely conscious of a need for a change in government, much less in the form of government. If there was such consciousness it was unorganized and insufficient to attain even that moderate degree of efficient operation possible under the cumbersome antiquated form. But there were leaders in the community—men who knew a change of some kind was needed and who were articulate on the subject. Outstanding among these leaders was John H. Patterson, then president of the National Cash Register Company. In 1896, seventeen years before the change in government took place, at the Centennial celebration of the founding of Dayton, he made the following prophetic statements:

> What ought the Dayton of the future be? Does its greatness depend upon the matter of its population? If it does, then Peking, with all its squalor and vice, is a great city. To become really great, however, our city must accomplish the largest amount of good for the largest number of her citizens, uniting all the best things which exist in other cities into an ideal city. Does she do this now? No; and why not? Because we are not educated sufficiently to realize our most urgent needs. We have no definite municipal ideas. Before we can have a great city, we must learn what a truly great city should be. We must first educate the people.
>
> A city is a great business enterprise whose stockholders are the people. . . . Our municipal affairs would be placed upon a strict business basis and directed, not by partisans, either Republican or Democratic, but by men who are skilled in business management and social science; who would treat our people's money as a trust fund, to be expended wisely and economically, without waste, and for the benefit of all citizens. Good men would take an interest in municipal government, and we should have more statesmen and fewer politicians.

This statement of how a city should be operated was a forecast of the commission-manager form of government. Seventeen years later Mr. Patterson became head of a Citizens' Committee to study forms of city government incident to the movement for a change. The commission-manager plan was recommended and the people of Dayton were given an opportunity to apply it. And they did.

Mr. Patterson was first to promote interest in public affairs through lectures at his factory and through his factory house organ. He inspired the creation of neighborhood improvement associations after having introduced one into the district around his factory. Those organizations directed attention first to their own neighborhoods but later, when a federation was organized, to improvements for the city as a whole. For a number of years educational work was carried on to interest the people in their local government.

In September, 1912, Ohio adopted the home rule amendment to its constitution. Immediately afterward George B. Smith, president of the Dayton Chamber of Commerce, appointed a committee of citizens to study the question of initiating a movement for a local charter and to suggest ways and means of doing it. This committee, composed of five leaders, John H. Patterson, chairman, E. A. Deeds, F. H. Rike, E. C. Harley and Leopold Rauh, favored the commission-manager form, and its decision was approved by the Dayton Chamber of Commerce because—

1. The plan was simple.
2. Responsibility and authority were definitely fixed.

3. It seemed most responsive to the electorate.
4. It was free from the meaningless, yet harmful, labels of national party organizations.
5. Its form of organization, similar to that found in business corporations, was planned to render service.
6. It was devised to make possible a continuing policy in the administration of the city's affairs, because the administrative head would be appointed for an indefinite tenure, and would not have to be elected every two or four years.
7. It provided for the selection of the administrative head by appointment, on the basis of experience in the field of governmental administration, as against the selection of a qualified executive head by chance through election.

How Adoption of the Plan Was Secured

This committee of five was expanded to a committee of one hundred representing every interest in the community. With the organization of this larger group a public meeting was held, attended by more than two hundred, at which the three types of government were discussed, the sentiment being clearly in favor of the commission-manager form. Other meetings were held by smaller groups at which the relative merits of the commission-manager and straight commission forms of government were discussed until the whole group of two hundred was unanimously in favor of a charter commission pledged to the commission-manager plan.

By a primary election conducted through the mails, the two hundred selected fifteen of their number to become candidates for the charter commission, and these fifteen were pledged to write a commission-manager charter containing among other things the following provisions:

A commission (council) of five elected at large on a non-partisan ticket and subject to recall.

A city manager selected by the commission, on whom would repose all administrative duties relating to the government of the city.

A referendum and protest on all legislation.

And what is more important—a charter which would secure the greatest welfare of the citizen body and not conserve the interests of any faction, political party, or individuals.

By putting up a charter commission pledged to a definite form of government it was felt the election of this commission would reflect definitely the wishes of the voters. Two other charter commissions were placed in the field—one by the Democratic party and the other by the Socialists, both pledged to some federal form of government. The Republican party was not opposed to the change. As individuals the members of the party lent their aid.

The task now confronting the Citizens' Committee was to overcome the advantages of the other two parties with their city-wide organizations experienced in campaigning year after year. The Citizens' Committee left nothing to chance. It created a city-wide organization with the election precincts as units, in each of which a captain was appointed who in turn selected a subordinate in every block, all being under the general direction of a ward leader. It was a thoroughgoing campaign with a house-to-house canvass pledging every person to vote for the commission-manager plan. The campaign was not merely to elect a

charter commission; it was to elect a commission pledged to a brand new form of government. A task of this kind could not be accomplished by enthusiastic speeches and vague generalities. It had to be done by intensive education. It had to overcome a form of government, however inefficient, to which the people were accustomed. It had to overcome a strong self-interested political machine. However, by a vote of two to one a charter commission was elected and authorized to write a commission-manager charter. On the day of election the Citizens' Committee worked as effectively as an old-time polling machine, leaders in every precinct with a list of the voters favoring the commission-manager form visiting the voters and sending them to the polls. In each polling booth and at the counting of the ballots the Citizens' Committee had adequate representation.

The personnel of this commission show its widely representative character:

John H. Patterson, manufacturer
E. C. Harley, wholesale grocer
F. H. Rike, merchant
John F. McGee, merchant
J. B. Zehnder, furniture superintendent
O. B. Kneisly, dentist
Fred Cappel, furniture merchant
William A. Sparks, laboring man
Lee Warren James, lawyer
E. E. Burkhart, lawyer
C. E. Bice, lumber merchant
E. T. Banks, Negro representative
A. I. Mendenhall, union printer
Leopold Rauh, representative of business organizations.

The people having declared themselves for the commission-manager form of government, it remained for the commission to write a charter embodying this principle. The election for the charter commission was held on May 20, and on June 23, 1913, five weeks after its election the commission by intensive work had completed its task. The vote on the charter was to take place on August 12, 1913, and the Citizens' Committee again set to work to carry on a campaign to assure success. The same citizen organization which had done such effective work in the first campaign was called into action a second time and a process of education was begun through hundreds of meetings of small groups of voters, in churches, on street corners, and in homes where neighbors would gather to hear the charter explained.

The campaign was a strenuous one. In spite of the campaign for the election of the charter commission, it was necessary now to defend and explain the detailed provisions of the city-manager charter. The Socialists conducted an open campaign against the charter and raised some fundamental questions. Was not the commission-manager form of government autocratic, giving too complete power to the city manager? Was it representative, since it provided for a commission of only five elected at large? The initiative, referendum and recall were attacked because it was felt that the number of signatures requested was too large to make them effective. In brief, all the fundamental points in the charter were attacked, but this attack had a salutary effect because it required continual and persistent explanation which informed more and more people about the details of the charter and the form of government.

The Dayton charter's principal features are:

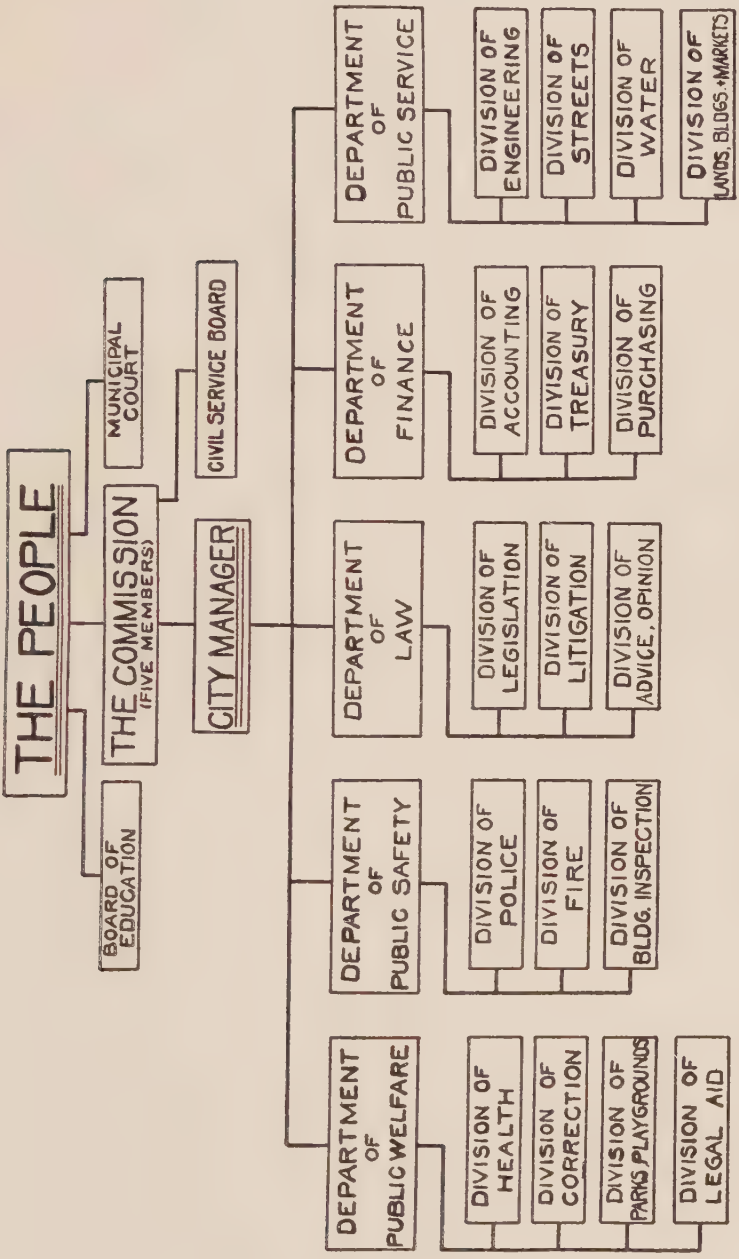
1. A commission (or council) of five, elected at large on a nonpartisan ticket, whose duties are purely legislative and policy-determining.

2. The manager is appointed without regard to his political beliefs and need not be a resident of Dayton at the time of his appointment. His principal duties are as follows:
   a. Supervision of departmental administration.
   b. Execution of laws and ordinances.
   c. Recommendation of legislative measures.
   d. Appointment and removal of heads and sub-heads of departments without restriction. Employees of classified service are subject to the civil service provisions of the charter.
   e. Preparation of the budget.
3. Initiative, referendum and recall.
4. Five departments: law, public service, public welfare, public safety, and finance.
5. Power of commission to discontinue any department by ordinance and to determine, combine and distribute the functions of departments.
6. Advisory boards of citizens to serve without compensation, whose duties are to consult and advise with departments.

Education and organization won. The charter was adopted by a vote of 13,318 for to 6,010 against.

No story of Dayton's adoption of the council-manager plan would be complete without mention of two events, the establishment of the Bureau of Municipal Research in October, 1912, and the Dayton flood of March, 1913. These two events are unrelated but they both played a significant part. The Bureau of Municipal Research, with L. D. Upson as director, immediately set to work studying scientifically and impartially the operation of Dayton's government. It built up a body of facts which were used most effectively during the next spring and summer in the charter campaign. This information was not collected primarily for this purpose, for in common with the policies of similar organizations in the United States the Dayton Bureau of Municipal Research offered its services to the public officials as a citizens' research and fact-finding organization for the purpose of helping them apply scientific methods to government, using research as a basis for improved changes wherever needed. Except for the city engineer and the clerk of the council, Wayne G. Lee (who became secretary to the first two city managers and then director of finance in the new government), not a public official responded to the offer of aid and coöperation from the Bureau. This agency, however, proceeded to study public records, followed the fiscal policies and procedures, kept in close touch with the council activities, and checked departmental operations where opportunity permitted. Accordingly, proponents of the new charter did not have to depend upon opinion, prejudice or belief for campaign material. They had solid, incontrovertible facts.

"Government by deficit," the appellation given Dayton's government by the Bureau, became a campaign phrase. It was an epitome of the whole fiscal and administrative policy of the old government so recognized and accepted by the public because of the supporting data proving its validity. Wasteful methods in garbage collection by which the city received a five-hour-a-day service for eight hours' pay was based on actual study and not on suspicion; unsound financing and ineffective budgeting were revealed by facts and figures. This type of continual educational publicity through pamphlets and through the newspapers, which gave whole-hearted cooperation, apparently had its effect.



The Organization of the City Government of Dayton

It would be untrue to say that the Dayton charter or the successful campaign for its adoption was the result of the flood. The movement for the charter had gained full headway before March, 1913, but the flood did help. It brought out in bold relief the incompetency of the administration which had broken down at a critical time, and necessitated the creation of a citizens' relief committee to lead in bringing order out of chaos. Exposure to this experience of expeditious, effective handling of public affairs at a particularly difficult time undoubtedly convinced the public what could be done by an administration motivated by the single purpose of rendering service.

This detail of events in Dayton's movement for adopting the commission-manager charter is given because in it may be contained part of the answer to the success of Dayton's government from that day to this.

Promise Really Fulfilled

In November, 1913, the first commission was elected. The five men chosen could not have been induced to hold public office under the old conditions, but they did consent to serve under the new régime. None of them had been active party workers and their election was on an absolutely nonpartisan basis. Behind them was the Citizens' Committee, a really significant organization at the time, which helped elect them from a field of fifteen candidates, five of whom represented the Democratic party and five the Socialist.

The first business and the first test of the commission was the selection of a city manager. An administrator was promised, chosen for his qualifications for the job. No plums were offered and no faithful wheel horse or controller of votes was wanted. The commission met the test with eminent success by appointing Henry M. Waite, then city engineer of Cincinnati under the efficient administration of Mayor Hunt. What were Mr. Waite's politics? Nobody cared. Mayor Hunt was a Democrat; the majority of Dayton's commission voted the Republican ticket. This appointment was the outstanding achievement of the commission and if the charter campaign had done nothing more than give Dayton four years of Henry Waite as manager, it would have more than repaid the effort.

Mr. Waite's salary was fixed at $12,500 a year. It required some courage to pay a city official as high a salary as that in 1914. The mayor of New York was being paid only $15,000 a year, and the mayor of Dayton had received $5,000. There was criticism from some quarters of paying the manager $40 a day. This seemed even greater extravagance than when the amount was mentioned on the annual basis. But events proved to the public's satisfaction that Dayton had secured a bargain.

One of the conditions attached to the appointment was that the manager would be manager and would be given a free hand in carrying out the duties imposed upon him by the charter. Anyone who knows Mr. Waite realizes he would not have accepted the position under any other agreement. He brought to his task not only unusual administrative ability and dynamic force but breadth of vision and a charming and colorful personality, equally at home in the drawing rooms of Dayton's élite, in the fire stations with the "boys," or swapping a word with the street gangs at work.

Appointments of department and division heads were made on merit. A leading attorney was made director of law; one of the manager's assistant engineers from Cincinnati, director of

public service; an outstanding minister and student of governmental and social problems, Dr. D. F. Garland, was appointed director of public welfare; a public accountant, director of finance. The safety department directorship was not filled for a year and a half, the manager himself working directly with the police and fire chiefs. It was an efficient set-up. In the minor unclassified positions the same care was used. There was no wholesale dismissal of old employees. Although he found the departments filled with political appointees, Mr. Waite let it be understood that all would be given a chance to qualify and if they proved satisfactory would be retained. Practically all were continued and he won the full-hearted support of all the employees, many of whom are still in the city's service.

It was not an easy task that confronted the new administration. The people sat back waiting to see what this marvelous new machine and this high-priced manager would do, what wonders they would perform. They had voted for all this because they were promised everything they lacked under the old form of government. So well were the people educated during the charter campaigns as to what was wrong with the old government and what constituted unsatisfactory government that they became extremely critical and discriminating. They were enlightened, and "they would never again be satisfied with what they had before." This feeling was wholesome because it kept the administration on its toes, ever striving to meet increasing demands. Yet so quickly did the people acquire the habit of accepting improved service, that they too readily took it for granted and frequently became unjustly critical, although a few months previously they would have been most grateful if they had received even a fraction of this service.

Die-hard politicians and the Socialist newspaper lost no opportunity to pick flaws, but the commission and the manager went on cheerfully doing the job before them, meeting criticism with performance. The first administrative task of the manager was to prepare the budget, the work program for 1914. The charter called for definite information, comparisons with other years, and a minimum of data—which insured at least a sound form of budget. Prior to this time Dayton had had no budget procedure in the modern sense of the word. Money had been appropriated by council without a very exact relationship to the estimated income. As a matter of fact, the council had never had sufficient data to appropriate intelligently or to the best advantage. Operating deficits might have been somewhat condoned if there had been something to show for the money in the way of improvement of services, but with no evidence of either of these the annual deficits of $60,000 did seem ironical.

In 1914, with practically the same resources but with careful budgeting and with appropriations based on careful departmental estimates, scrutinized item by item by the manager, services dropped in previous years were resumed, others never before rendered were added, and $30,000 of a floating debt of $125,000 was paid off in the first year.

Following is a report showing what the new administration did in its first six months and what has been continued on an increasing scale since that time. Attention is called particularly to the creation of a real health department with a full-time health officer for the first time in the history of Dayton, with public health nurses and five city physicians who took care of the indigent sick—all of which resulted in a reduction of the infant death rate

from 124.6, 114.3 and 123. per thousand in 1911, 1912 and 1913, respectively, to 95.8 in 1914. It is true that infant mortality was being reduced in many cities before 1914 but that had not been true in Dayton. Attention is also called to the new service given through a free legal aid bureau which has done excellent work since that day, to the operation by the city of a number of playgrounds which until 1914 had been provided entirely by a private social agency, to the establishment of a municipal lodging house, to the resumption of rubbish collection, and to the inauguration of a central purchasing department which saved thousands of dollars during the first year and in subsequent years through modern intelligent methods in purchasing. In short, Dayton's government was humanized—imagination, intelligence and resourcefulness were being applied to the administration of its affairs.

Partial Report for First Six Months of 1914

Staff Conferences. Regular conferences with the heads of departments were held, where all important matters were considered and departmental cooperation was developed, and the programs and activities of each department were discussed and planned.

Expenditures Limited by Income. In planning the expenditures of the year, appropriations were limited to estimate revenues, and expenditures were kept within the cash receipts. The old deficit of $125,000 was reduced rather than added to. The issuance of bonds to meet current expenses was not resorted to.

An Eight-Hour Day. Payrolls were not now passed unless a time sheet had been kept showing the number of hours that each employee worked. In this connection the number of hours was reduced from ten to eight, at the same pay, and office employees were required to work a full eight hours.

Building Code. Arrangement was made for the drafting of an entire building code for the city without cost to the city.

Civic Music. Amateur and professional musicians were interested in providing high-grade music at more popular prices. A high-class symphony program was arranged for the coming winter, and half of the seating capacity was sold in season tickets. (Still going in 1930.)

Garbage Removal. Plans were prepared for a disposal plant and equipment necessary to care for all garbage and other refuse of the city for twenty years.

Parole of Workhouse Prisoners. In many worthy cases workhouse prisoners were paroled and placed in probation, and work secured for them.

Expediting Public Work. By borrowing on the credit of uncollected assessments contractors were paid promptly, and work rushed with a resulting lower cost. Formerly contractors were paid only as assessments were actually collected.

Permits Simplified. All permits were issued from one office, on a uniform form, and the amount collected recorded on a cash register. At the same time the machine stamped the permit as legal, and indicated the amount paid.

Sewers. Both the storm and sanitary sewer systems were inadequate for the needs of the city and funds were voted to design a complete sewer system; all sewers laid in the future were to be in accordance with this plan. A complete topographical study of the city was planned to provide for future development and for a sewage disposal plant to be ready when such was ordered by the state board of health.

$12,000 Saved on Valley Street Bridge.

Permission was secured from the state board of public works to fill and pave Valley Street across the Miami River and the Erie Canal instead of building a lift bridge, for which money had been appropriated. Twelve thousand dollars was turned back into the sinking fund.

Refuse Collection. The collection of rubbish and ashes which had been discontinued was resumed. The streets and alleys of the city were cleaned up and the wagons were routed so that monthly service was rendered to all sections of the city alike.

Garbage Collection. It was arranged to give the householders regular garbage collection service weekly. In order that adequate service might be supplied with the funds available, it was asked that only garbage be put in the cans, and that the cans be placed within easy access for the collectors.

Street Repairs. Street repairs except for a balance of $12,000 remaining from bonds issued before 1914, were made from current revenues. Where asphalt streets were in bad condition they were repaired with tar macadam at a reduced cost.

Additional Water Supply. A temporary supply of about 7,000,000 gallons of water per day was made available at Tate's Hill. This provided for the increased demand which frequently exceeded 16,000,000 gallons per day. During fires the consumption had exceeded the rate of 30,000,000 gallons per day. Work on the permanent additional supply from Tate's Hill was actively pushed and was completed in the fall.

Plans for Water Improvements. A firm of consulting engineers made an investigation of the entire water situation, including supply, pumping and distribution.

Municipal Garage. All motor repairs and adjustments were made at the municipal garage at a saving of several thousand dollars a year. The garage also acted as a clearing house, securing greater service from the motor equipment of the city. All city cars were numbered and labeled. This facilitated the keeping of cost records of the operation and repair of each car, and prevented "joy riding" after hours.

Full-Time Health Officer. A health officer on full time, the first in the history of the city, was provided. The force of full-time food and dairy inspectors was increased, the work rearranged to secure larger services from each employee.

Reorganization of Health Work. The entire division of health was reorganized and complete up-to-the-minute records were installed, thus insuring systematic work, increased efficiency, and adequate control of health problems. The work of the sanitary police was doubled. and the force reduced.

Public Health Nursing. With the coöperation and help of the Visiting Nurses' Association and the Anti-Tuberculosis Society, all public health nursing was brought under one management and control.

A Lower Infant Death Rate. The death rate for infants in June, 1914, was only one-half that of any June for three years previous. This low death rate was secured by controlling threatened epidemics of smallpox and diphtheria; by an anti-fly campaign conducted through every public and parochial school; and by the inauguration of baby welfare work. Three weekly baby clinics and four certified milk stations were established as well as a system of post-natal visits to mothers.

Community Gardens. In coöperation with the Dayton Playgrounds and Garden Association six community gardens were plowed and prepared, on

which about seventy-five families cultivated vegetables; twenty-two experimental gardens were prepared for the cultivation of vegetables by hundreds of children under the direction of an expert gardener; three hundred and thirty-nine vacant lot gardens on which as many families raised vegetables were plowed; and a dozen additional playgrounds for children were cleaned up and leveled.

Number of Playgrounds Doubled. Playgrounds were opened in every section of the city, with daily supervision by trained play-supervisors, all under the direction of the superintendent of recreation. Twenty-eight playgrounds were provided as against fourteen or fifteen last year, the largest number ever reached before in Dayton.

Municipal Lodging House Established. A municipal lodging house was temporarily established through the courtesy of the Burkhardt Packing Company, which gave free use of a building on Market Street. The superintendent of corrections managed this new feature of relief work, taking care of 1,852 lodgers. Each lodger was required to give a half-day's labor, removing snow, leveling dumps, etc., for his day's lodging.

Free Legal Advice. A division of legal aid was established in the department of welfare, the second of its kind under city control in this country. It has been unusually effective in protecting the weak, and in the first four months of operation handled more than three hundred applications, most of which were claims for wages, installment difficulties, and loan shark extortions. Over two-thirds of these were disposed of without legal action. Any person capable of paying was referred to private counsel. The maintenance of the division cost less than $625 for the year.

City Infirmary Abolished. The city infirmary was abolished and all outdoor relief put under the administration of the Associated Charities, thus unifying the work, increasing its efficiency and avoiding duplication of service. This field was covered at less than one-half the cost formerly incurred by the city infirmary.

Women Police Officers. Two women police officers were engaged to care for girls and women requiring correctional measures or in need of personal and sympathetic advice.

Fire Prevention. An inspection was made of every building in the city to acquaint at least one fireman in each district with all interior construction. In addition, fire hazards were abated, and where orders for the removal of material or for changes in building conditions were given, re-inspection was made.

The above is admittedly a good record and naturally is more spectacular than that of later years. There were so many opportunities for making improvements that the contrast with the old was much sharper. But the real significance of these accomplishments lies in the fact that the financial resources of the government in 1914 were practically no greater than those of 1913. Admitting the very important part played by the personnel of the administration and its great urge to satisfy an acutely conscious "show me" public, the credit due the form of government must not be minimized. For the centralization of responsibility and administration it provided, first in the council and secondly in the manager, the recognition that the executive should spend his time in administering the affairs of the city and not in being a vote-getter or party leader, furnished a tool by which competent personnel could achieve results more easily and certainly more expeditiously.

Since 1914

Space does not permit a detailed recital of Dayton's achievements within the last sixteen years. C. E. Rightor's book *City Manager in Dayton* gives an excellent, impartial and thorough account of Dayton's government for the first four years of the council-manager administration and shows that there was no diminution in the splendid beginning made in the first few months after the new organization took hold. In fact, the reverse was true. As the machinery became welded together and the new organization found itself, services were improved and expanded.

A study of these first four years will also show unusual activity in taking the government to the people and in promoting the active coöperation of the public. Not a week went by but the manager was invited to talk to some organization. In 1915 Mr. Waite averaged three talks a week. And in every one of his talks he added friends to the administration and even converted those who were sceptical or definitely antagonistic. The city government stimulated the organization of the Civic Music League, which, started in 1914, is still in existence and gives annually a series of six concerts by the foremost artists of the country for prices as low as $3.50 for the series. The organization of an amateur baseball league begun then, is still in existence and stronger than ever. The tie-up of the nursing staff of the health department with the staff of the Visiting Nurses' Association under one supervisor, all under the head of the commissioner of health, was brought about in 1914. Coöperation with the Dayton Playground and Garden Association and the provision for expending the funds for outdoor relief through the Associated Charities, a privately maintained organization, were all inaugurated during this time and are still continuing with great benefit to the city.

The newspapers were kept in close touch with the administration. Mr. Waite permitted the newspaper reporters to read his correspondence so that they might know what was happening, a practice that has been continued. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that Dayton was most fortunate in stepping off with the right foot in beginning a new form of government. Precedents set during the first few years have left effects felt ever since. And the success of the government up to the present must be attributed in large measure to the impression this wise post-natal care made upon the people.

Close contact with Dayton's city government for fifteen years leads to the conclusion that the administration of Dayton's government is functioning as well now as it did in the very first days when practically the entire citizenship was watching it carefully and an articulate section of it was criticizing it noisily.

Attention is called to a few outstanding improvements, made during this period, which are worthy of special note:

1. *Water Works Extension and Improvement.* A whole report could be written on what has been done by the water department during the last sixteen years to furnish a more adequate water supply for the present and the future; a complete distribution system keeping pace with the growing community; a new pumping station, completely electrified; and the very businesslike methods of financing those improvements. The water works has met the full cost of capital outlays and expansion of its service from its income, with a water rate comparatively low.

2. *Sewage Disposal Plant.* Within

the last few months a complete modern sewage disposal plant costing three million dollars was put into operation. This is being paid for through a service charge to all property owners, billed quarterly in conjunction with the water bills.

3. *Elevation of Railroad Tracks.* Four years ago the people voted $8,000,000 for the city's share of a complete track elevation program, the total cost of which will be $24,000,000. This is finally being done after many years of discussion. It would have been done sooner but the people voted down an issue of bonds for $2,000,000 for this purpose some years ago.

4. *City Plan.* In 1923 a city plan board was appointed by the commission and since that time a complete city plan and a zoning ordinance have been adopted.

5. *Garbage Reduction.* Since 1914, after a careful study of this problem, the city has operated a garbage reduction plant which has paid for itself.

In every one of these projects the city government called in experts who made the necessary studies and surveys and whose recommendations were followed. This is in keeping with the method started in the year 1914 when the first manager, Mr. Waite, commenced the practice.

It may be stated, and justly so, that none of these improvements is a peculiar monopoly of commission-manager government. Because this is true, it is believed that what actually was accomplished in the way of improvements, in miles of better streets, adequate water supply, or in increased and even improved service is not of primary significance. Other cities operating under other forms of government may also show commendable records during this same period. But *how* Dayton did it, under what conditions and circumstances, with what resources at its command, the administration's attitude to its responsibility, the responsiveness to meet the situation—all of these are significant.

In connection with the construction of the sewage disposal plant, it was necessary to purchase considerable land which would not be used for the actual plant construction. This was done in order to prevent suits for damages from adjoining property-owners, which is of course usual in such developments. This land was all acquired at reasonable prices, and no suits were filed when the plant was actually constructed. Of 551 acres purchased for the work, about 200 acres have been turned into a park and golf course. Land which the owners claimed would be useless because of the sewage plant nuisance has been beautified with drives and shrubbery, drainage has been provided, and an eighteen-hole golf course is now in use. A clubhouse was built, largely with materials salvaged from the buildings on the properties acquired, and five rustic camps are in use for picnic parties. All the development for the golf course and park has been done at a cost of less than $75,000 including the clubhouse. Labor from the city workfarm has been used in part of the work, thus reducing the cost of some items. Part of the land purchased is located across the river from the disposal plant. A fifty-five-acre tract provides a splendid summer camp for colored boys and girls, and this land is being gradually developed into a rural recreation spot for Negroes, with buildings, tennis courts and swimming pool, and eventually a golf course.

Developments such as these are of course possible in any city, but here was land so located as to make it a matter of economy for the city to purchase it as part of the sewage disposal plant development. Instead of letting it lie idle it has been beautified and

made to fill a much desired part of the recreation program, all at a very moderate cost.

Probably one of the most definite accomplishments in recent years has been the success of the city administration in securing an adequate return on daily bank balances. A going concern needs working capital, and the Ohio laws require that the money be on hand before any obligation may be incurred. This forces the city to carry large balances in construction accounts, and the method of tax collection and distribution by the county, acting for the state, also makes for large operating funds at certain periods. These large balances earned only the usual 2 per cent or 2½ per cent when deposited in local banks as required by state law. The city officials wanted to make this money earn a fair return. In 1926 they secured the interest of officials in Cleveland, and the two cities were able to have the state legislature enact a law permitting the city to invest in its own notes and bonds for a short period of time, reselling when the money was actually needed to pay bills. This principle had been employed in the past in investing sinking funds, but never for the operating and construction balances. The results have more than justified their efforts and faith. In 1928 the finance department of Dayton cost about $22,000 to operate, and the revenue from the investment account was approximately $55,000 more than would have been received in interest under the former procedure. Here is tangible accomplishment. Vision to see the need and secure the necessary legislation plus administrative ability to make the balances earn every cent possible by keeping every dollar invested until the time it is needed to meet bills—this is what the citizens of Dayton have come to expect of their officials.

It is significant that Dayton has had no upheaval in its government for sixteen years, that during this time through careful financing it has lived within its income, has even had annual cash balances in spite of funds limited by restrictive state laws and by a county budget commission which fixes the tax rate and controls the distribution of taxes. It is also significant that to do the job as efficiently and as economically as possible seems still to be the primary object of the administration, that the central purchasing department is as zealous of securing lowest prices today as it was sixteen years ago; that contracts are let to the *best* bidder; that the budget is explained in detail at an advertised public hearing to as many of the public as attend. True, only a handful attend, but it is explained nevertheless, and questions openly *answered*.

Dayton did not live within its income during the years 1918, 1919 and 1920, when the dollar shrank to half its value. But in 1918 she took the lead in calling a conference of Ohio cities on financial relief, and at that conference stood and fought for recommending to the legislature a pay-as-you-go policy, but the conference voted for the issuance of deficiency bonds, which the legislature adopted. Representatives of Dayton's government desired increased tax levies or revaluation of property to keep down the ultimate increased cash in financing these deficits. Along with other Ohio cities Dayton was obliged to take advantage of the special emergency permitted by the general assembly to issue deficiency bonds.

A practice which was adopted in 1914, is still applied, and is responsible for living within or below the income, is the periodic revision of the budget by the manager during the year. At the beginning of the year, receipts from the various sources are estimated

and appropriations made accordingly. Three or four times a year the manager reviews the budget with each department and division head and adjusts it to the actual receipts. In some instances the situation permits a reduction in the original appropriation, in others increases may be required—but always the income is kept in mind. In May of this year, the manager reduced the budget of 1930 more than $57,000 because the actual income for the first quarter failed to come up to the amount estimated. Some of this may be restored before the year is over but until the administration is sure of the income no risks of deficits are being incurred or of being obliged to cut blindly later in the year.

Promises that the manager plan would eliminate the shifting of responsibility and that the simplicity of the plan would expedite service have been realized. Requests, complaints or appeals to the city manager or to the council, when such course is necessary, result in action or at least in a decisive answer. Weekly staff meetings with the manager, at which inter-departmental relationships and coöperation on specific measures are discussed, afford a means of short cuts to action.

The Council

The city council meets every week, alternating between morning and evening meetings, the latter to give citizens who cannot leave their work an opportunity to appear before the commission with any grievances or complaints or petitions. From the very first meeting, citizens have availed themselves of this opportunity to lay their needs in person before the commission and these petitions, complaints or grievances are not only received respectfully but they are followed up to a conclusion.

In addition to these weekly public meetings, the council holds conference meetings. Whatever differences of opinion there may be among the members on the various matters are usually ironed out at these conferences, leaving the public meeting rather dull, unless a minority decides to become articulate in public or citizens enliven the session with the presentation of some controversial issue. The council of five has been able to transact the business of the city effectively but it has been rather rigid in its expression and has been too unanimous. A larger council of seven or even nine would permit of a greater difference of opinion which might be healthier in the long run, and might make it more difficult to overturn a satisfactory state of affairs. From the standpoint of the public good it is a question whether it might not be wiser to have a more frequent difference of opinion, even if business might at times be somewhat retarded.

The Council and the Manager

Students of municipal government have been concerned about the relationship of the council to the manager and the relationship of both to the public. Is it a one-man government with the manager initiating and dominating policies, or is the council the head of the government? Do the people forget about the council and look to the manager as the government or do they look to the council? The full benefits of this type of government cannot be realized if the manager functions merely as a chief clerk, or, on the other hand, dominates the council and makes of it a one-man government. Neither extreme is satisfactory. The manager plan is designed to apply a combination of lay judgment in deciding policies and technical advice in their formulation and application. The council in the last analysis is responsible for what is done and how it is done and therefore

must make the decisions on policy, but the manager's judgment and recommendations should be part of the process of arriving at decisions of policy.

Undoubtedly in Dayton during the first four years, the city manager was the outstanding figure in the government. This was so for two reasons: first because in the charter campaigns almost the entire stress was laid upon the "city manager"; secondly, it happened that the manager during this period was a strong personality and a natural leader. This does not mean that the manager dictated the policies; it merely means that he stood out more prominently before the public than did the council. Since that time it is believed a balance has been struck more in accord with the spirit as well as the letter of the charter with respect to the relationship of the manager to the council and of both to the public. By temperament the present manager is not a public leader but he is an able and efficient administrator. He carries out his duties as outlined by the charter, yet he is not merely a passive agent in his relations to the commission. Like any capable executive in any type of organization, he proposes needs and measures to the council and makes recommendations on things to be done. In arriving at its decisions of policy the council has the benefit of his knowledge, experience and judgment as an integral element in its deliberations.

Continuing Policy

Most notable among the contributions of the manager plan to the transaction of Dayton's public business has been a continuing administration of policies since its inauguration on January 1, 1914, full coöperation and coördination of effort among departments and an unusual spirit on the part of the whole administration of trying to give one hundred cents' worth of service for every dollar expended. This attitude born in 1914 is still alive today. Projects planned and policies adopted have been carried forward progressively from year to year, to final conclusions.

Why? Partly because of the overlapping terms of the city commission. The commissioners are elected for a four-year period. In order that their terms may overlap elections are held at two-year intervals. Two are chosen at one election and three at another. This hold-over of two or three commissioners leaves a nucleus for continuing policies and attitudes and has prevented making a too radical change thoughtlessly. For example, on January 1, 1918, the terms of two of the original commissioners expired and, although this election was not critical because the majority of the commission would still continue in office, nevertheless it was somewhat of a test to see whether the administration would go on as smoothly with even a slight change in the personnel of the commission. One of the original commissioners retired. The other was reëlected but with him was elected an organization man frankly supported by one of the political parties. Prognosticators predicted the injection of partisan politics, with resultant friction and some obstruction to administration. But this member, obviously an organization man who presumably would do the bidding of his political organization, became one of the most loyal supporters of the administration's policies and of the manager. He supported the plan of government not only in letter but in its spirit, and served as a most effective commissioner for three consecutive terms. He died after having served one year of his fourth term.

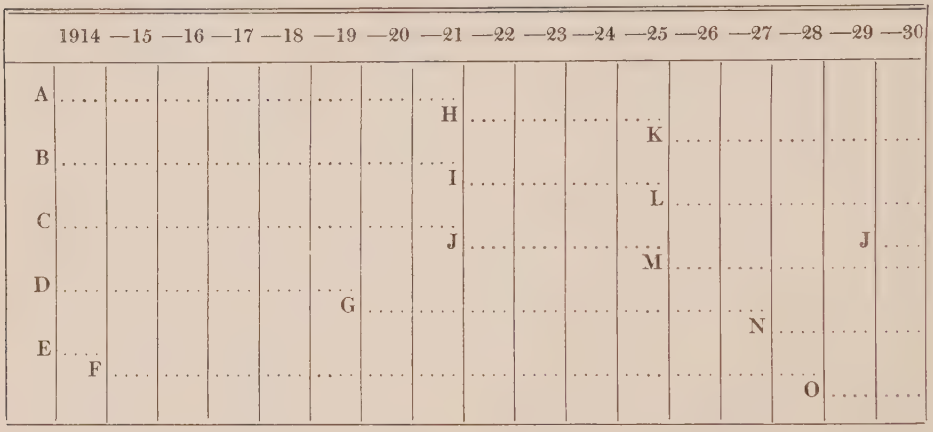
The accompanying chart shows graphically the overlapping periods of service of the fifteen commissioners who

have held office under the present charter.

Continuing policy is a natural result of continuing tenure of office, and the chart indicates that ever since 1914 there have always been at least two of the commissioners with several years' experience and knowledge of affairs when the newly elected ones took office.

CHART SHOWING OVERLAPPING SPANS OF SERVICE OF DAYTON COUNCILMEN

(Horizontal lines represent periods of service of individual councilmen, designated by letters.)



held that year; and two of the three candidates supported by the Citizens' Committee were more or less inclined to agree that a change in the managership should be made. The third candidate felt that if after he had taken office he found reasons for a change he would favor it; if not, he would not. The two members of the commission who held over did not favor a change. The result was that after the three newly elected commissioners had been in office a few months, at least two of them realized it would be a mistake to make a change and the manager is still in office.

Another reason for continuing policy that grows out of this method of electing commissioners is the likelihood of retaining the administrative head through successive changes in the government. This differs widely from the mayor-council plan where the mayor, the administrative head, is elected for two or four years and brings in with him new ideas, good or bad, and usually a new set of department heads.

This is illustrated by what happened in 1924. At that time there were those in the community who thought it would be wise to have a new city manager. The reasons were not evident and to those who were intimately acquainted with the administration it seemed unwise because the manager had been doing a good job. An election for a majority of the commission was to be

ELECTIONS

As has been indicated, Dayton's ability to continue an unbroken policy in administration is tied up with her system of electing the city commissioners. Every four years when the majority of the commission is to be elected the situation is critical because if three men are elected who are hostile to the current type of administration the city administration will revert to the conditions of the "good old days." The first such election occurred in Novem-

ber, 1917. It was a real test. In the primary election there were no outstanding candidates—three were put up by the Socialist party, three by the Democratic party, and three by the Citizens' Committee representing those who favored the existing administration. This does not mean that the names are placed on the ballot with party designations. The ballot is nonpartisan; names are printed alphabetically and in rotation, but the public knows who is supporting the candidates. The issue of this primary election was the city government, its form and its results. Six men were to be nominated. The vote was as follows:

Socialist candidates	29,162
Citizens' Committee candidates	20,545
Democratic candidates	10,164

The following extract from C. E. Rightor's *City Manager in Dayton*, tells what happened following the surprising results of this primary election:

> The large vote secured by the Socialists frightened the leaders of the Citizens' Committee, and the outcome of the November election on the issues of the success of the government appeared doubtful. The Socialists had polled about three times their normal vote and were confident of winning in the November election.
>
> Now for the unexpected. It happened that after the August election one of the local Socialist leaders wrote an article in the New York *Call*, the Socialist newspaper, in which he stated that the Socialists' success in Dayton was due to their anti-war attitude. This article was taken by the Citizens' Committee as its basis for the final campaign. The issue was made solely one of Americanism. The final result was a decisive victory for all three of the Citizens' Committee candidates, insuring the continuance of the present plan for another four years. The vote was as follows:
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | Nonpartisan candidates | 50,383 |
> | Socialist candidates | 37,821 |
>
> There was a total of 29,400 votes cast, of which the Socialists received 43 per cent.

While the campaign for the November election was conducted along old-line methods, using the Democrat and almost defunct Republican organizations to defeat the Socialists, the administrative end of the government kept out of politics; no jobs were promised and no city employees took part in any way in the campaign.

Since that year the Democratic organization has not put any ticket in the field. However, a new policy was adopted to safeguard the integrity of the city government. At every election the Citizens' Committee is revived. True, it is not so vital nor so strong as it was in 1913 or in 1917, but a sufficient number of leading citizens have continued a deep interest so that the capture of the administration by a political party for selfish purposes has been prevented. This Citizens' Committee, composed of men voting the Democratic and Republican tickets, supports candidates agreed upon with the local party leaders; with the understanding, however, that no raids will be made upon the government and that efficiency, economy, and the interest of the public must be served. It is a practical arrangement and up to this time has worked satisfactorily. The present council consists of two Republicans, one of them an organization man; two Democrats, both of them organization men; and one councilman who might be termed an independent Democrat. During all these years the Republican organization, which is probably dominant now in both the city and the county, has not aimed at the control of the city government. The political battle ground of the two parties is the county.

It can be said truly that partisan politics has not entered into the administration of the city government but the existence of the political parties in so far as selection of the council

is concerned has been recognized. The situation in Dayton must probably be characterized as a compromise with the political parties, yet it is not exactly a compromise. It means practically that the coöperation of the political leaders is enlisted to secure as capable men as possible for the city council who will support a continuance of the satisfactory conditions. Perhaps the ideal situation would be to have the Citizens' Committee as strong as it was sixteen years ago, but unfortunately it seems difficult to maintain a strong organization year in and year out, in which the only benefits accruing to the membership are efficient and economical city government. It is possible to do so, as Dayton did, for a limited, inspired reform period, but as a permanent device the best that can be hoped for is the help of the sustained interest of a small group. Dayton has been fortunate in having such a group of leading citizens.

Is Politics an Important Factor?

When one of the members of the commission died after serving only one year of his third term, the peculiar political complexion of the commission was revealed. Of the four remaining members, one was an independent, one was the sole representative of one of the party organizations, and the other two were organization men representing the same party as the deceased. While the member who had died was an organization man, he was a staunch supporter of the charter and of the manager. His two political brethren were interested in having another of their own party appointed to the vacancy. The principle of this desire was approved by the other two members, and in general by the public, i.e., the appointee should be of the same party as the deceased. However, the principle was also approved by the public and the other two commissioners that the appointee should be as independent as his predecessor, and should be appointed on that basis—independent in thought and action and not dominated by the party machine. This division of opinion in the commission caused a deadlock. Candidates were suggested and not approved; either the proposed man was too political or not political enough. Discussions were conducted over a period of several weeks, with no decision. Finally the independent commissioner brought the entire matter into public view by a statement to the newspapers. Public opinion soon finished the task, and the vacancy was filled by appointing a man who was nominally of the same party as the former commissioner, but was also an independent in thought and action, and has proved to be a valuable addition to the commission.

This is related in some detail to show that the political situation is still one to be reckoned with, and that an organized minority can still have considerable influence upon the action of the majority. Dayton can offer no panacea for political ills. Constant vigilance is necessary, and the early success in electing candidates of the Citizens' Committee with independent backing indicates that the surest preventive for political domination is a live organization of this type, seeking no jobs or favors for its workers.

Personnel

Although the personnel of the commission has changed a number of times since January 1, 1914, there has been no upheaval in the administrative departments. Dayton has had four city managers:

Henry M. Waite, January 1, 1914 to March 1, 1918

James E. Barlow, March 1, 1918 to January 1, 1921
William C. Barber, February 1, 1921 to August 1, 1921
F. O. Eichelberger, August 1, 1921–.

Mr. Barlow, director of the department of public service, was made manager at the salary of $7,500 and resigned after a term of three years following a disagreement with the city commission. The latter then decided to look about the country for a manager and selected Mr. Barber—who had been mayor of Joliet, Illinois—at a salary of $12,500. He remained six months during a difficult period in which a street-car strike figured, and then resigned. The present city manager started in the employ of the City of Dayton as a rodman more than twenty years ago, later became city engineer, then director of public service. He receives $9,600 a year. Neither in the selection nor in the resignation of the managers has strife or partisan organization policies been present; nor has there been any interruption of the steady progress of the administration of affairs. It has been the practice to fill vacancies by promotion. All the present department heads, with the exception of the director of the department of public safety, were promoted from subordinate positions in the city service.

Form Not a Guarantee of Good Government

The city manager plan does not automatically give good government, but it does furnish the machinery for giving better service more easily if the spirit, as well as the letter, of the form of organization is carried out. By carrying out the spirit of the city manager plan is meant:

Formulation of policies by a non-partisan commission on a non-partisan basis.
Selection for ability, only, of a chief administrator; and the delegation to him of all administrative functions.
Administration of the city departments by the manager without any interference by the council.

Attention is called, particularly, to the last point because its abuse seems so harmless, although, as a matter of fact, it can disrupt the whole city organization. The council should allow the manager a free hand in selecting his department and division heads and in carrying out the details of administration. The council should supervise the manager, and if it finds that the latter's organization and methods are not productive of the desired results, it should take appropriate action. Adherence to this policy is for the best interests of the city.

There have been and probably there still are some in Dayton who object to the manager plan; whether because of the plan itself or because of specific grievances it is difficult to determine. The last time such opposition had an opportunity to express itself was in November, 1922, when an initiated petition to amend the charter to provide for partisan election of a mayor and of a council selected by wards was presented to the people. This amendment was defeated but it received 17,000 votes. The vote upholding the manager plan was 26,000. It is especially interesting to note that the Socialists supported the manager plan in this fight.

All that can be concluded from the result of this election is that it gave every malcontent, dissatisfied for whatever reason, a chance to register his grievance. That the dyed-in-the-wool adherents of the partisan organization voted for the amendment goes without saying, and there is still a goodly number of these extant.

It is wholesome for a government to be questioned and tested occasionally as was Dayton's in 1922, but unfortunately good government may not always win. If there is one major criticism that may be directed against the city government in Dayton today it is the failure to impress continuously upon the people how well its city administration is functioning. So quietly and efficiently does it work that the city hall lacks "news value"; it is dull, furnishing no excitement, no headlines. It is like having a well functioning body of which we are unconscious until we have an ache or pain.

What about the Tax Rate?

The tax rate is usually accepted as the measure of efficiency in government, at least in the minds of the general public. But the Ohio tax laws prohibit any real progress in this respect, forcing all the large Ohio cities to live on a very limited income. There is no question of economy in Dayton, it is one of efficiency. The total to be expended is limited. But the answer to the question, "What do we get for our tax dollar?" would furnish the information desired.

Working side by side in Dayton is the government of the county which offers a very definite comparison. Here is the old political organization, with many elected officials, no centralized responsibility, careless budget procedure, etc. In 1914 the tax rate in Dayton was $14.40 on each $1,000 valuation. This includes all local taxes—city, county and schools. Of this $14.40 the city received $7.25 and the county received $2.02. In 1930 the tax rate is $25.40, of which the city receives $7.97. The county receives $3.81. During the fifteen years Dayton has had efficient, nonpartisan administration the city portion of the tax rate has increased 10 per cent while the county's portion has increased over 88 per cent. And the city is giving more and better service every year, spending efficiently the inadequate income permitted it by state laws.

Efficient Citizenship Guarantee of Good Government

These sixteen years of the council-manager plan in Dayton have brought the city good government. Due credit must be given the charter for providing machinery that promoted rather than hindered the rendering of service. Credit must also be given the capable and conscientious public employees who have used the machinery to its greatest capacity for giving good public service. But the impelling force back of the machinery and personnel to which the greatest credit is due has been the alert interest of the citizen body—a minority, it is true. It is this interest that has been responsible for the continued maintenance of able and public-spirited officials and so far has kept out "political" methods from the operation of the city's affairs.

More has been expected of this type of government than of the old form, and more has been given the people. A quality of service that was unhoped for under the old régime and that would have been received with gratitude has been taken as a matter of course under the city manager administration. And on its part, the administration has been sensitive to this interest of the public and has caused it to be responsive to the public's demands.

It is time that people should accept good government as a matter of course, that they should regard it as the normal basis from which further advances shall be made, instead of feeling unusually grateful when an occasional administration reaches the plane of good service.